This is our place: Fishing families and cosmopolitans on Negros Island, Philippines

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Declaration

I, Magne Knudsen, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in anthropology, in the School of Archaeology and Anthropology, College of Arts and Sciences, the Australian National University, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institutions.

18 November 2009 Magne Knudsen
Abstract

Based on a case study from a peri-urban location in the Visayas, in the municipality of Sibulan on Negros Island, this dissertation argues that the significance of territoriality, co-residence, small-scale fishing and pioneer settler status as determinants of community and identity have for many coastal dwellers become more – not less – important in recent times. Localism as an orientation and commitment to place of residence has in fact grown under the pressures of cosmopolitanism.

In contrast to those literatures on peasant and indigenous communities which describe fragmentation, proletarianisation, or the persistence of traditional forms of community under conditions of modernity, this thesis identifies an evolving process of place-based community formation. The analysis of how localism and cosmopolitanism inter-relate brings out differences in the valuation and prestige of small-scale fishing, place-based forms of living, and the significance of the distinction between early settlers and newcomers. Growing cosmopolitan influence in the coastal zone, reflected in a booming ‘beachfront property’ market and efforts to protect coral reefs by establishing Marine Protected Areas, encourages particular coastal dwellers to ground themselves to place by establishing pioneer settler status and by claiming “this is our place.” Incoming beach house owners with wealth establish themselves along the coastline and some of them cultivate relations with these pioneer settlers. While members of families with pioneer settler status are able to feed off and exploit cosmopolitanisms to consolidate localism or to pursue ‘middle class’ status oriented to the wider cosmopolitan society, coastal dwellers without such status face new hurdles. Those families without kinship links to the ‘original people of the place’ are prevented from ‘becoming local’ and increasingly marginalised from wider neighbourhood communities.
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Chapter One: Place-based community under conditions of modernity

Situated just north of Dumaguete City on Negros Island, coastal Sibulan has been settled over time by a diverse group of people who are engaged in a wide range of local and extra-local practices and relationships. New groups of poor, rich and those in-between continue to seek out opportunities in this area. Some seek to establish themselves closer to the City in the hope of improving their access to jobs and income while at the same time retaining access to marine resources. Members of already well-established local families have taken up higher education, work in cities and have developed cultural orientations and aspirations which have altered their association with place and community. In recent decades, rich newcomers, seeking ocean view, fresh air and a quiet, less stressful environment, have bought land for residential, speculative and vacation purposes.

Such multiplex and contradictory processes are characteristic of many peri-urban locations. Being in some sense both urban and rural at the same time, peri-urban refers to land areas fringing urban centres, a belt between the suburbs and the countryside. What came as a surprise to me was not so much the discovery that many different categories of people have an interest in this area and that there is considerable dynamism in livelihood and place relations, but rather the large number of coastal dwellers who show commitment to small-scale fishing and other household-organised livelihood activities in their neighbourhoods and have settled into and maintain large kin-based residential clusters, ‘clan’-like social formations where some see themselves as the descendants of the ‘original people of the place.’¹ It is these people who claim that “this is our place” (mao ni among lugar). How are we to understand this phenomenon? Is this just a remnant of a pre-modern society and an indicator of the failure of people to realise modernity?

¹ I use single inverted commas to indicate a figurative use on my part, or a quote within a quote. Two inverted commas indicate a quote.
A master trope in social theory – from Marx, to Durkheim, Weber and Giddens – suggests that pre-modern societies were place-based, small-scale, subsistence oriented and peasant-like entities. Economic affairs were embedded in kinship and local culture. With the onset of modernity, the significance of territoriality, co-residence and kinship as determinants of community and identity weakens and mobile, translocal identities and symbolic communities become more important. Economic relationships become less personal and place-based communities become fragmented or proletarianised.

Despite long histories of colonial rule, large-scale commercial agriculture, capitalised fishing fleets and social differentiation within family groups, I will show that place-based community and small-scale fishing have not only remained important to many coastal dwellers in Sibulan, but have in some key ways become more significant in recent times. The ‘clan’-like social formations in peri-urban Sibulan are neither some remnant from pre-modern times nor adequately conceptualised as a general re-embedding response to the dis-embedding forces of modernity.

In this chapter, I will examine various bodies of literature on place-based community under conditions of modernity and globalisation to answer the puzzle of why pioneer settler status and place-based forms of livelihood are so important to many people in Sibulan.

**Peasant communities in the modern world**

The concept of a place-based community is often associated with a peasant-like type of social formation, a social construct which serves as the defining ‘other’ of modernity. In the 1950s, peasant studies were on the rise. Southeast Asian peasants and rural communities were brought under U.S. government and academic scrutiny. High on the
agenda was the idea of ‘community development’ and directed change through government projects which aimed to modernise rural life. Another aim was to document traditional rural life-ways and cultural practices (Muijzenberg 1997: 317).

The definition of a peasant society varies, but is often thought of as small in size, rural, largely self-sufficient and with its own mostly inward-looking traditionalist cultural orientations. Peasants are nevertheless perceived to be closer to the modern world than tribals and those who belong to chiefdoms. Agricultural peasants control land, are “existentially involved in cultivation and make autonomous decisions regarding the processes of cultivation” (Wolf 1973: xiv, see also Kearney 1996: 2). The family farm is the basic organisational unit. Among development theorists of the 1950s and 1960s, the typology of different peasant societies was seen as a “yardstick for historical analysis,” the different types having reached different stages of economic development and varying levels of incorporation into modern society (Shanin 1971: 16). The notion of a small-scale village community with peasant-like qualities, as encountered during fieldwork, is interpreted as being in transition between two entirely different social worlds.

Raymond Firth’s account of social transformation in “Malay fishermen” (1946) is typical of a much wider literature. Firth describes a peasant fishing economy which is gradually undermined and replaced by capitalised fishing fleets, expanding markets and incorporation into a modern state.³ Instead of family organised, place-based livelihoods focused primarily on production for use, there is a strong underlying process of

anthropology was related to a crisis in the discipline. Field research could no longer be justified as a study of ‘primitives’ (ibid.: 4).

Prior to 1940, only 8 per cent of anthropology and sociology studies in the Philippines dealt with lowland communities. Focus had been on ‘tribal’ or ‘primitive’ groups in the uplands. In a rather dramatic shift, linked in part to cold-war politics, by the 1950s, half of all studies dealt with lowland groups (Muijzenberg 1997: 320, footnote 8). At the University of Chicago, the Philippine Studies Program, founded in 1953 by Fred Eggan, became a key institution for the training of postgraduate students who embarked on research in rural communities across the archipelago (ibid.).

³ Firth not only includes smallholders, but also small-scale fishermen and craftsmen as peasants.
proletarianisation. Men begin to fish on commercial fishing boats owned by absentee owners who make decisions based on profit motives. With increased division of labour and expansion of markets, permanent kinship obligations in a village context become irrelevant for how economic decisions are made. More impersonal relations in the economic sphere replace “the network of village cooperative services” (1946: 24-25). In Chapters Two and Three, I will return to the argument of authors who argue that plantation agriculture and large-scale fishing bring about a decline in the importance of small-scale fishing and household-organised, ongoing, face-to-face relationships in a neighbourhood.

While a notion of a peasant subsistence community served as a backdrop to the new village-based field studies of the 1950s and 60s, lowland Philippine communities were discovered as complex, hierarchical and open social formations (Polson and Pal 1956; Lande 1958; Kaut 1961; Hollnsteiner 1963; Nurge 1965; Lynch 1970). In my view, this insight has remained one of the strengths of the Philippine literature. The representation of rural society is not one of a bounded, timeless entity and its main characters are not only peasants, tenants and landlords. Many studies document considerable social stratification and a diverse occupational landscape, with labour specialisation, internal and external trade, various forms of migration and an emerging middle class both in rural and urban areas. There is a wide range of household compositions.4 Neighbourhoods, villages and family life were seen to have lost the kind of corporate quality often associated with a pre-modern peasant community. Modernity had brought added social complexity and new hierarchical relationships.

Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner’s classic work on “The dynamics of power in a Philippine municipality” criticises the assumption of village-wide solidarity in the community development literature (1963). Hollnsteiner finds factional division to be prevalent

4 See for example Ethel Nurge (1965: 37-44). Nurge operates with eight household categories, and also some subcategories, ranging from the “intact nuclear” to the “idiosyncratic.”
within local communities and develops a dynamic alliance model of political relations. In this model, beyond the "immediate family," vertical rather than horizontal ties are seen to be the most crucial (Hollnsteiner 1963: 189). Solidarities along class, ethnic and extended family lines are seen to be less significant. The extended families of the past are seen to be in a transition, becoming individualised. The concepts of "individual residents" and "immediate family" are combined through networks of dyadic or patron-client ties into wider hierarchical but loosely structured and unstable factions.

Despite such factional conflict and social complexity, patron-client relationships are in this literature seen to be of a kind which holds society together during a period of rapid change. The relationship between rich and poor is – in large part – portrayed as mutually beneficial and relatively harmonious. The high degree of interdependency and the "cultural values of sharing" reproduce society as a kind of functional whole – characterised by 'smoothness' in interpersonal relationships – despite class inequality (Hollnsteiner 1970: 84; Lynch 1970).5 In this model, 'smoothness' in interpersonal relationships between patrons and clients rests ultimately on what are seen as traditional, pre-colonial cultural predispositions, such as utang-na-loob (debt of gratitude) and hiya (shame). Such pre-modern character traits and values of reciprocity work as a kind of social glue under conditions of modernising change, but at the same time they have the effect of slowing down or hindering such change. With the rise of non-traditional leaders and further spread of mass education and a money economy, modern middle-class identities and urban gesellschaft forms of social organisation are hypothesised to replace place-based gemeinschaft communities.

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5 Hollnsteiner writes: "In a society such as the Philippines, where the gap between social classes is marked, utang-na-loob [debt of gratitude] reciprocity stabilises the social system in a special manner by acting as a bridge between the separated sets" (1970: 83-84)
Yet many of these authors noticed that a wider set of horizontal neighbourhood relations continued to have some importance. The interpretation of the significance of such relationships, however, is mostly one of sharing poverty. While the extended family and a sense of neighbourhood is important in solving “small-scale daily problems,” David L. Szanton and other authors of this time-period stress that in times of crisis these relationships provide insufficient help (1971: 87). Under conditions of a declining subsistence base and growing need for cash, friends and kin of similar status in the locality have little to spare. Among relatively poor households in the fishing town of Estancia on the island of Panay, Szanton finds strong demand for patronage services: “for most rural Ilongo families, vertical ties involving the exchange of economic, social and political ‘goods’ are far more stressed than horizontal solidarity” (Szanton 1971: 87). As a result, villagers are often in competition with each other over resources provided by the same higher status patrons, bosses and elites of various kinds (ibid.).

Other authors find the peasantry to persist at the margins of a new dominant social formation. Clifford Geertz (1963), for example, finds that through an intensification and refinement of subsistence-oriented livelihoods, peasants are able to endure alongside a modern plantation economy, despite population pressure on land and other resources (‘dual economy’). Peasant householders can be extremely resilient and efficient. Instead of changes in proprietary control of land, agricultural output is divided evenly among villagers through an expansion of traditional forms of labour exchange (1963: 98; Schrauwers 1995: 237). These peasant communities will, however, have to settle for a much smaller share of the economic product. Eventually they become “entrapped in an involuted subsistence ethic” (Schrauwers 1995: 338-9), an ethic of “shared poverty” which is perpetuated through an intensification of prior social relationships and obligations (Geertz 1963: 97). The high degree of interdependency and the persistence of a subsistence ethic among members of such communities prevent social differentiation from taking place.
Many of the village-based studies in the Philippines and elsewhere in the region during the 1950s and 1960s show a blend of modernisation theory, structural-functionalist ideas and Wolfian "complex society" thinking. Although 'kinship' receives considerable attention in this literature, discussions of the importance of the extended family and neighbourhood community tend to focus on its role in sharing poverty and constructing relationships between class unequals. Such an interpretation captures an important aspect of local social life in many parts of the lowland Philippines. In coastal Sibulan, many do group together to help each other out under oftentimes very difficult circumstances and factional election politics plays into the dynamics of power in neighbourhood interaction.

More explicitly than many other authors in the 1950s and 1960s, Eric R. Wolf argues that peasant communities, even the closed corporate variant, are created in response to colonial occupation and mercantile capitalist expansion. This is an important point. It allows for an analysis of emerging place-based communities under conditions of modernity. Furthermore, Wolf operates with a wide range of responses among rural people to the changes taking place. The closed peasant community is only one response to the new conditions. He describes seven different types of peasant communities (1955) and highlights the importance of migrant wage labour in the ongoing reproduction of these (Kearney 1996: 123). He also noticed the growing importance of "nation-oriented groups" and paid attention to a social formation emerging near haciendas, mines and mills, often "loosely structured settlements of casual farmers and workers, middlemen and 'lumpenproletarians' who had no legal place in the colonial order" (1956). On Negros Island, a similar history of class and settlement formation can be found, going back to the second half of the nineteenth century.

Wolf's articulation of modes of production theory goes some way towards dismantling the distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern': "each is just the obverse of the other, in that both are bound into circuits of exchange that fund their differentiation" (Kearney 1996: 90). I will come back to how such a conceptualisation is useful for my own study
later in this chapter, where I take localism and cosmopolitanism to be intimately linked and, in important ways, constitutive of each other. These categories will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. But for now, localism refers to a commitment to family and household organised, place-based forms of livelihood and living. The localists discussed in this dissertation are not reconceptualised peasants, but are instead defined in terms of their contemporary and ongoing association with place and community. Localists are, or want to become, full members of place-based communities or receive wider recognition as ‘locals,’ as people who are ‘from here.’ Localists tend to be enmeshed in dense, multiplex relationships in a neighbourhood. Cosmopolitanism refers to a break with localism, a separation from localist attachments and expectations. Cosmopolitans also have an interest in family, community and place, but are not enmeshed in day-to-day relationships and interaction in a neighbourhood context.

**Fragmentation and differentiation in local communities**

Although Wolf recognises considerable complexity and variability of rural communities, what I find missing in Wolf’s analysis is more information on the day-to-day interaction and relationships among the people who group together in a neighbourhood and a stronger focus on social differentiation within the categories of peasants he constructs. A key strength of the Philippine literature on rural social change is the much more detailed analysis of social stratification within a village context and how this affects relationships, outlook and the conditions for place-based community.

A new generation of village-based studies in the Philippines in the 1970s and 1980s were influenced by a shift in U.S. anthropology towards issues of political economy and ideology. The ‘village’ was placed explicitly within a wider context of colonialism, neocolonialism, cold-war politics and global trade. State and development agencies, having been seen as rather neutral and benign entities by the previous generation of researchers, were now brought under critical scrutiny. Scholars with a neo-Marxist bent, drawing on Wolf’s work, argued that to understand why subservience and elite rule take the form it does, one has to study how social inequality and poverty is created by capitalism, state
formation and ideologies legitimating class inequality (Scott and Kerkvliet 1977; McCoy 1982; Kerkvliet 1990; Sidel 1999; Mojares 2000). In this literature, the place-based community is seen to be under severe displacement and fragmentation pressure, and stronger cleavages along class lines come to the fore. However, to varying degrees, among these authors the notion of a peasant community continues to serve as a benchmark against which social change is assessed.

Writing on the social history of a rural Cebuano community which has been increasingly interlinked with expanding Cebu City, Resil B. Mojares finds that “the experience of land, the physical village, as mediator of identity and principle for organising the past, weakens” and that “the peasantry is prevented from developing locally-based moral, political or economic institutions of any real vigour” (2000: 71). According to Mojares, instead of “involution,” a central social process is the fragmentation of place, livelihood and social relations: “as the old patron-client networks break down, reorientation take place: people enter into an exchange with patrons outside the village, cultivate links to multiple bosses or brokers, or seek solidarity with members of the same class both in and outside the village” (Mojares 2000: 59). In this context, it is no longer clear where the centre is.

In Weapons of the weak (1985), James C. Scott, instead of ending the argument by saying neighbourhood and kin relations are ripped apart by modernity, suggests that a new social formation takes shape: the landless rural proletariat. Scott predicts that proletarianisation prevails as the dominant process in the long run, but also finds in co-residence, kinship, compadrazgo and other relationships between class unequals mitigating factors. These tend to make class-based conflicts less visible and effective. Despite resistance to the intensified forms of appropriation of surplus from the peasantry, as the larger forces gain ground and the mechanisms of control and

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6 As long as impartial state institutions remain weakly developed, Scott and Kerkvliet has argued, patron-client ties are likely to remain an important factor in community relations, especially where kinship and village units fail to guarantee subsistence and security (1977: 454).
domination become increasingly based “on law, property, coercion, market forces, and political patronage,” Scott argues that agrarian society polarises into a “poverty-sharing class of small farmers at the bottom of the heap” and “a robust class of capitalist farmers at the top” (1985: 312, 71). If this ultimately allows for the construction of lower-class place-based communities of any real vigour is less clear in Scott’s account.

Although proletarianisation may not spell the end of community (see below), Brian Fegan finds that village-based social relations become less important as a consequence of increased landlessness and occupational diversification (1979). People from the lower segments of local status hierarchies “flexibly shift between whatever income niches are temporarily available...” (Fegan 1979: 461). This complexly constructed mode of making a living, Fegan argues, shields an underlying class division (ibid.: 464-5). With an increasing number of villagers without control over land and other productive resources *in situ*, distress diversification takes place, including lower-class labour migration to cities. Rural households have to rely on several sources of income and maintain relations with people who control access to jobs, rent capital and assistance inside and outside the village (ibid.: 366). Like Mojares, Fegan finds that village territory loses its economic relevance for most inhabitants and political alliances beyond the village take on added importance. While noticing that clusters of kin-related households are common, this is more a reflection of increasing scarcity of land than a preference for localised kinship groups, says Fegan (ibid.: 387). In Otto van den Muijzenberg’s interpretation of Fegan’s work, the village is “no longer a phenomenon with its own sociological significance” (1997: 333). Muijzenberg seems to support this

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7 Fegan describes the emergence of a “rent capitalist system.” After a dynamic phase, when immigrant settlers became cultivators at the frontier, in a second phase, when land developers (capitalist entrepreneurs) could no longer use “tenant-debtors” to turn frontier land into productive fields, they developed a strategy of squeezing tenants by raising rents and establishing loans-schemes (1979: 364).
view that the significance of territoriality, co-residence and kinship become, over time, less relevant as determinants of community.⁸

I will ascribe much more importance to the kin-based clustering of houses under conditions of modernity. At the same time, I will draw on insights from the analysis of social differentiation in the Philippine literature. I find that the analysis of social differentiation and stratification is one of the main strengths of the literature on lowland communities. Based on empirically grounded, long-term fieldwork, some of the most influential studies of rural social change have relied on detailed data collection at the level of households to enhance our understanding of processes of social differentiation and occupational specialisation (Fegan 1979; Eder 1982; Kerkvliet 1990; Eder 1993; Eder 1999; Eder 2006). In these accounts, authors bring out how household processes interact with much broader social transformations. They show that diversification and intensification of livelihood-making for small-scale producers work out very differently for different groups of people. They find emerging class complexity, diverse economic strategies, growing socio-economic inequality, political patronage, varying degrees of proletarianisation and persistence of small-scale, household organised livelihoods, and contending views over the changes taking place. The authors recognise substantial differences across time periods and locations (closeness to cities, established agricultural regions versus settler frontiers, etc.). In some regions, there has been a stronger class crystallisation than in other areas.⁹

In general, these authors do not depend on the community concept to formulate their argument, perhaps seeing it to have too much ideological baggage. Instead, a strong

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⁸ Muijzenberg modifies the argument a bit by saying that this needs to be investigated in each empirical case and, citing Wolf, that such significance may also wax and wane, but is probably on the wane in the long term (ibid.: 342).

⁹ Outside the provincial capital of Palawan, James F. Eder finds that, with growing number of income sources both for men and women combined with geographical and socio-economic mobility, even seemingly straightforward and basic concepts such as ‘occupation’ and ‘primary source of income’ become problematic (1991: 163). These complexities, Eder says, “frustrated any simple ‘class’ analysis of community socioeconomic structure…” (Ibid.: 148-9).
focus on social differentiation and class complexity issues provides the basis for critiquing simplified notions of place-based community economies. These studies provide solid empirical grounds for objecting to, or making more nuanced, broad generalisations about rural society polarising into a capitalist class of landowners and a landless proletariat, or arguments which propose a general process of 'repeasantisation.' Several authors find that classes have become more numerous and society, in some respect, more complex. At the same time, both in rural and urban locations, there are also many researchers who find a large bottom layer of society consisting of very poor, displaced and marginalised peoples.

With a highly stratified social formation in most areas of the Philippines, the rich/poor distinction is an important one. In several chapters, I show the relevance of class-based cleavages and patron-client relationships. The Philippine literature on patron-client ties and class complexity issues gives added dimensions to local social dynamics. By looking at brokers who not only operate at the higher echelons of the social strata but also at mediators at lower levels, those who have close contact with and participate in day-to-day affairs at the level of barangays and neighbourhoods, I stress throughout this dissertation, it is possible to elaborate on the nature of 'smoothness' and conflict in hierarchical relations and re-assess the value of these relationships for local leadership and place-based community formation. At the same time, I will highlight another distinction, the one between the 'original people of the place' and 'migrants.' This distinction has not received enough attention in the literature and in Sibulan is central to how community identities are being negotiated. The kind of household-organised, place-based forms of livelihoods with kinship links to ancestors I find in Sibulan, although it has affinities with low-income neighbourhoods, is a social formation which does not map neatly onto either the fragmentation model of Mojares or the proletarianisation model of Scott.

James F. Eder's study of a post-frontier community on Palawan is of particular interest to me, both because there seems to be some commonalities in terms of San Jose’s
location just outside a provincial capital, one where farming is not the only or even main occupation for many, and because of Eder's strong focus on social differentiation and its consequences for local community and household-based social organisation (1999). Eder points out that smallholding farmers, fisher folk and wage earners are householders: "groups of individuals living together under a common roof and sharing a variety of daily tasks" (ibid.: 11). The household unit is particularly relevant for learning about rural social differentiation and change in the lowland Philippines, Eder suggests. He illustrates this point by showing how the members who constitute these units respond to social differentiation and engage the world around them, pursue aspirations and plan for the future. Despite much dynamism, change and complexity in the social structure, Eder finds that the household, among smallholders, has continued to serve, and perhaps has become more central than ever before, as "the nexus within which most of the necessary labour, capital, production, and marketing skills are mobilised" (1999: 48). Eder is careful to point out that there is much variation between households and finds that as more people stay longer in school, attend educational institutions outside their municipality of origin and find jobs elsewhere, there is growing disparity in how people relate to and are enmeshed in neighbourhood kinship and friendship networks (ibid.: 117). These seemingly contradictory processes, social differentiation and continuing commitment to place-based, household organised livelihoods, form a key conceptual challenge in my own work.

Compared to much of the literature on lowland Philippine communities, I focus more on the extended family and kin-based mechanisms in neighbourhood formation and sense of belonging to place. While noticing that there is, on the one hand, growing disparity in how people relate to place, livelihood and each other, I will also, on the other hand, show that place-based community becomes more – not less – important to many coastal dwellers in Sibulan. The challenge, then, is how to conceptualise social differentiation and place-based community formation as part of the same set of interlinked processes.
Translocal communities

Anthony Giddens, starting his analysis by invoking a peasant-like notion of community, argues that the “environment of trust” in pre-modern settings is place-based, one where kin and face-to-face relations, tradition and cosmology dominate the shaping of space into place (Giddens 1984; Giddens 1990; Rodman 1992: 645-6). With the onset of modernity, interactions across distance are increasingly significant in individual experience. In the language of Giddens, social relations are disembedded from local contexts and there is growing importance of abstract systems (including commodified markets). In Giddens analysis of Western industrialised societies, place becomes “phantasmagoric”: “that is to say, locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influence quite distant from them” (1990: 18). Different social mechanisms come into play when contexts of co-presence no longer dominate interaction between people (Giddens 1984: 37). With new media of communication and increased speed and availability of transportation, stable dwelling places look to become less central for developing relationships and forms of cooperation (Giddens 1990: 18).

Giddens analytical framework encourages investigation of how processes embedded in social relations of particular places are the outcome of complex interaction across geographical regions and socio-cultural boundaries. Several authors have drawn on Giddens work to question the usefulness of a concept of place-based community in a globalised world. Arjun Appadurai has sought to re-theorise the relationship between

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10 Giddens uses the concept of modernity both as a shorthand for industrial or modern society and, more specifically, associates it with:

“(1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy. Largely as a result of these characteristics, modernity is vastly more dynamic than any previous type of social order. It is a society—more technically, a complex of institutions—which unlike any preceding culture lives in the future rather than the past” (Giddens and Pierson 1998: 94)

In modernity, Giddens argues, the public must trust the monitoring institutions and the expert systems for them to gain legitimacy (1990: 26-28). The modern era is thus characterised by the extent to which abstract systems are central to ontological security.
people, place and community in terms of the interrelated ways in which desires and aspirations are generated through media and migration, how subjects understand and relate to place (‘translocality’), and how human agents construct other kinds of communities (‘virtual,’ ‘imagined’ or de-territorialised ‘communities of sentiment’) (1996: 8). Appadurai argues that anthropologists have not properly taken into account the “nonlocalised quality” of social reality:

The landscape of group identity – the ethnoscapes – around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as groups are no longer highly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically self-conscious, or culturally homogeneous...The task of ethnography now becomes the unravelling of a conundrum: what is the nature of locality, as a lived experience, in a globalized, deterritorialized world?” (Appadurai 1991: 191, 196, also cited in Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 3)

Neighbourhood and locality in this perspective do not necessarily have much overlap. Appadurai believes neighbourhoods and localities share fewer and fewer properties and that spatial boundaries become less central to how communal identities take shape. Important realms of identification are increasingly detached from territory and the local. Translocality in Appadurai’s definition refers to the complex conditions through which neighbourhood and place-based associations take shape in a world which is more interconnected than ever before. The research focus shifts onto the non-localised quality of neighbourhoods, from place-based practices to how media and migration shape subjectivities, how remittances and affection are stretched across vast space, creating and maintaining a sense of belonging beyond the physical village. In such a world, Gupta and Ferguson argue, anthropology should not seek to find its trademark by committing to the ‘local,’ but instead engage “epistemological and political issues of location” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 38). According to them, this brings fieldwork away from its classical site: “the detailed study of a limited area” (ibid.).

11 Appadurai uses the concept of ‘locality’ to be different or detached from the physical neighbourhood. Locality in his use is a highly relational and contextual concept, a “structure of feeling” linked to “cultural flows.” Locality is thus decoupled from any particular locale (Appadurai 1995: 204, 208, see also Marian Kempny 2002, p. 78 in Amit 2002a).
There is much scepticism towards the concept of a place-based community in this literature. As indicated above, I ask whether the opposite is not the case among many people in peri-urban coastal Sibulan, settlers for whom place-based practises, the localised quality of neighbourhoods and kin-based mechanisms look to be central to how community as identity takes shape.

Although Giddens' work exaggerates the separation of community from place under conditions of modernity, and the narrative of globalisation seems to endow the space of flows – of money, goods, people, ideas and images – with the power to break up traditional relations and reintegrate people as different kinds of subjects in new social relations, his notion of a re-embedding response to dis-embedding forces associated with modernity has some appeal. This notion can be used to describe the many low-income families who struggle to avoid eviction from the land they live on, a 'community of struggle' where neighbours cling together to help each other out the best they can, or a 'shared poverty' explanation for the 'clan'-like settler formations in Sibulan. The notion of a general re-embedding response among the 'poor,' however, does not adequately capture social mobility and status distinctions among localists in coastal Sibulan, as I will argue throughout this dissertation.

The notion of dis-embedding/re-embedding can also be used to explain how some members of local families, or even entire branches of such families, over time separate from local community life and re-embed themselves as different kinds of subjects. Often through higher education, professional careers and some kind of middle-class status, they nurture relationships with people who share similar interests and outlook. It is this aspect of modernity as a society-wide and deeply transformative process that Giddens' highlights. These are people who no longer seek to realise themselves through multiplex relationships in a neighbourhood context. Instead, they re-embed into relationships of a different kind, often with people who are less attached to a neighbourhood, and pursue more cosmopolitan identities.
Focussing just as much on the re-territorialisation as the de-territorialisation aspects of modernity, several researchers working in the Philippines have analysed how overseas trade, the proliferation of 21st century media technologies, transnational mobility and government development policies affect people-place-community relationships (Pertierra 1992; Barber 2000; 2002a; McKay 2003; McKay 2006). Nostalgic myths about a homeland, gender transformations, emerging cosmopolitan identifications, as well as altered patterns of landuse through investments in cash crops, for example, are linked to the ‘place-making projects’ and aspirations of overseas and returning migrants. Raul Pertierra has noticed that while individual families may benefit in terms of increased income and social status, the community as a whole tends not to gain from overseas remittances and returning migrants (1992: 18). More individualised household accumulation strategies are reflected in how remittance monies of overseas migrants are spent in the Philippines. Remittances tend to be channelled into private housing, property investments and consumer goods, as well as into higher education, self-employment and capitalist entrepreneurship. Returning overseas migrants also engage local understandings of what it means to be ‘modern’ and ‘traditional.’ Through remittances of money and gifts, and ongoing electronic communication, Deirdre McKay finds that ‘absence’ and ‘presence’ are blurred when Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong remain actively involved in household processes back home in the Ifugao village (2006). In such translocal place-making projects, the experiences of nearness, simultaneity and intimacy are transformed.

Compared to some of the political economy approaches mentioned above, this literature has brought some new dimensions to the analysis of migration and the study of local life, community relations and the formation of aspirations. I will draw on some of this literature in Chapter Five, which deals with emerging cosmopolitan orientations among members of better-off local families, and Chapter Six, where I look at a redefinition of

12 The Philippine economy has grown very sensitive to continued flows of Overseas Filipino Workers' remittances, but these financial flows create benefits “through individual families rather than through more collective structures” (Pertierra 1992: 7).
coastal space among ‘rich newcomers.’ This literature has, however, done little to counteract the stereotype that place-based communities are traditional social phenomena. Instead, there is a strong tendency to argue, as do the authors discussed in the previous sections, that the notion of a place-based community no longer suffices. Compared to the village-based studies mentioned above, and reflecting the kinds of research questions they have been keen to explore, this literature has also focused less on the details of livelihoods, land tenure, kinship and social stratification within a neighbourhood context. Such information I find highly relevant for understanding the place-making projects of many coastal dwellers in Sibulan.

The local experience of place

While some of the literature on globalisation and transnationalism in anthropology look to have left behind questions of why, when, how and for whom place-based forms of community might be important and desirable, another strand of the anthropological literature has done what seems to be the opposite and gone deeper into the existential and sensory significance of place (Feld and Basso 1996). At an existential level, place offers concrete ways of grounding experience, allowing for some sense of control over everyday events, and serves as a point of reference and meaning. These scholars argue that attachments to particular places continue to be mediated through culturally constituted perceptions, local knowledge, intimate engagements and taken-for-granted familiarity (Weiner 2002: 21). People invest emotionally in their surroundings, embody the landscape, and through naming practices and story-telling, they come to know, appropriate and develop intimate relationships with land. As such, place is not adequately conceptualised when treated as a ‘resource,’ or a subcategory of spatial flows, or as a static backdrop to action and experience, a location where people do things (Rodman 1992; Malpas 1999).

Margaret Rodman, for example, starts her analysis of land tenure not from a concept of property, but from the concept of place (1987: 33). By place she means, drawing on Edmund Husserl (1907), a lebenswelt, a close and inseparable association between man
and land as a whole, as understood, experienced and practised by her informants in Vanuatu. Rodman looks at how different categories of people establish themselves in a territory, learn to know its features, mix labour with the land, conduct ritual ceremonies and create links between particular groups of people and specific areas of the land. Kin-based mechanisms are important for obtaining ownership and usufruct rights and landlessness seems unthinkable: “having a place (vanue) is as natural and inevitable as having a father and mother. The symbolic association of land with parentage is strong throughout Vanuatu” (Rodman 1987: 35. 39). This is useful for the material I work with, in that the process of incorporation into family groups and ‘becoming local’ in a new place is one important aspect of the kind of place-based community process I seek to describe.

Jonathan Rigg, at one level, is right in criticising a literature which assumes rural people are “somehow ‘attached to land in a primordial sense’” (2006: 189), and Jan Breman usefully reminds us that the village has never been composed of a closed, socially homogeneous, immobile group of people attached to native soil (Breman 1988: 24). Rodman, in a later journal article summarising a broader literature on space and place, argues that “the strong assertion of the inalienability of land in Vanuatu no doubt responds to the extensive alienation of land for plantations in the colonial period (1992: 648). Focus is on the unsettling experience of colonialism and modernity and the need for re-embedding ‘projects,’ place-based political struggles which may encourage discourses of primordialism and rootedness of people to territory. I will present a similar argument, showing how kinship links to ancestors have for some categories of coastal dwellers become more important in recent times, partly to claim rights to the beach.

Rodman gives insightful examples of how different categories of persons construct and relate to place, sometimes in competing, contested fashion. Importantly, Rodman acknowledges unequal distribution of power when it comes to defining relationships between person and place, and the ability of social actors to appropriate space as their own. Where I depart from Rodman is where she, in my view, too uncritically adopts
Giddens' account of historical transformation under conditions of modernity. Rodman’s thesis boils down to the following: because of remoteness – that people still lived “beyond the colonial and postcolonial horizon, that is, beyond the government’s reach and/or interest” (ibid.: 648) – their lives were not yet subject to the same intensity of separation of place from space that Giddens suggests is a defining feature of modernity. Localised activities and kin-based mechanisms thus still continue to dominate the shaping of space into place. When modernity forces do become pervasive, however, Rodman assumes identities become less defined by and expressed through place and a more post-modern, plural landscape emerges (1992: 646). As a result, Rodman holds on to a centre-periphery framework, one which does not expect to see place-based communities as highly relevant in peri-urban contexts.

Arturo Escobar seeks to defend the study of place-based practices, associations and local knowledge, while at the same time looking more seriously at the question of voice, power and distribution (2001). Drawing on Arif Dirlik’s notion of “place as ‘project,’” he seeks to find in places a “domain of resistance and alterity” (Dirlik 2001; Escobar 2001: 141). He calls for greater attention to “strategies for the defence of place,” for example through indigenous mobilisation. Escobar notes that scholars and activists in environmental studies, often drawing on wide networks of connections in transnational spaces, tend to have a strong reference to place and territory, relying on place-based models of nature, culture and politics: “Indeed, the interesting question is how people mobilise politically notions of attachment and belonging for the continuation of individual and collective identities, including the conflict this local mobilisation might entail with broader political and economic interests” (ibid.: 149). While lending support to such deliberate strategies to promote a notion of place-based community which can serve as a kind of antidote to the harshness of state and market forces, Escobar finds that the literature on resistance to capitalism and modernity have fallen short of what is needed: “Resistance by itself...is only suggestive of what is going on in many communities, stopping short of showing how people actively continue to create and reconstruct their lifeworlds and places” (ibid.: 155). Escobar finds it useful to fuse
phenomenological and political economy approaches. What Escobar calls “placespecificity” is integral to a basic understanding of being. There is some resemblance here to the prevalence of the primordialist man ples discourse which Rodman interprets to be a response by Vanuatuans to the disembedding forces of colonialism and modernity, a kind of resistance and re-assertion by the ‘real owners’ of the land.

The legitimation for the “defence of place” and the support of “indigenous mobilisation” seems to be based on the idea that the dis-embedding forces of modernity are strong. Indigenous leaders and civil society organisations find it urgent to lobby issues at various scales to demarcate and prevent penetration of capitalist modernity forces into these non-capitalist spheres, while at the same time help strengthen customary institutions of reciprocity, environmental knowledge and resource use.

Other authors find that the ‘trouble with community’ relates to this tendency to assume or consciously construct a common history, solidarity and aspirations among different sectors of society, such as the ‘urban poor,’ ‘fisher folks,’ ‘peasants’ or ‘indigenous people.’ Activists, local leaders, state officials and others are known to employ – for different strategic reasons – “community simplifications” (Walker 2001: 3, 15). By employing such simplifications, social actors seek to provide a basis for political mobilization, attract resources and frame agendas. In Thailand, civil society organizations have successfully used “…metaphors of community restoration and environmental degradation to push rural interests onto the policy agenda and into the national press” while “the Thai state has used the discourse of community and environmental conservation to appease and defuse more radical calls for self-determination and land redistribution” (Johnson 2001a: 124). While sometimes very effective in terms of mobilising resources and attention, such simplifications gloss over everyday forms of discriminations and give “overly simplified views of social process” (Walker 2001: 3, 15). The community concept is deployed to “lower consciousness of difference, hierarchy, and oppression within the invoked group” (Joseph 2002: xxiv).
Andrew Walker promotes an “approach which focuses less on community in itself than on the fluid and contested processes of community formation” (2001: 15).

The state and community formation

Many authors have developed aspects of Wolf’s work to argue that processes of state and community formation are intimately linked. Walker, keen to challenge the classic dichotomies of top-down, bottom-up and centre-periphery, draws on Wolf to question the assumption that there is a fundamental difference between community and the modern state, as many of the “processes of community formation are inseparable from processes of state formation and nationalistic enterprise” (2001: 5). Similarly, Tania Murray Li argues that localising processes of particular places do not work outside state agendas; they work “relationally, in and through them” (Li 2001: 44). Jane M. Atkinson argues that “…what passes as ‘local’…is itself the product of negotiation with earlier forms of authority, including colonial bureaucrats and regional elites” (Atkinson 2003: 241). Walker, Li, Atkinson and others draw on new historical evidence which suggests that in many regions of Southeast Asia, the levels of socio-economic differentiation and integration through market exchange were far greater in pre-colonial times than what has often been assumed in the literature (Rigg 2001: 37, see also Jan Breman 1988 and Anthony Reid 1997). However, broad generalisations of this type, Rigg points out, need to be qualified, as there was considerable variation in the degree of integration and differentiation across regions and time periods, and political and economic turmoil often led to retreat out of commercial activity into subsistence.

Walker, in a recent book, highlights the point that there is no contradiction between modernity and community, but at the same time he wants to “rescue” and “liberate” the concept of community from its close association with a peasant-like village type social

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13 Li writes: “In the period 1780-1850…Sulu became the center of a network of long-distance raiders responding to international pressures to increase the supply of commodities and slaves…Feuding, fragmentation and flight were widespread in the interior in previous centuries, and it was, in many areas, external authority that enabled people to form the stable sets of relations we think of as community” (Li 2001: 46).
formation (2009). By conjuring up ideal-type representations of a pre-modern village community radically different from that which characterises social relations under “mature rural capitalism,” authors commonly ignore an important social fact: also in pre-enclosure times, Raymond Williams points out, “the reality of community...varied enormously” (1973: 102, 103). This is useful, but there still remains considerable scepticism in much of the literature mentioned here towards a concept of place-based community under conditions of modernity.

It is interesting to notice that some of the researchers who have conducted long-term fieldwork in low-income urban settlements are less sceptical and often find a strong sense of community in these neighbourhoods. Countering the scepticism towards community, Patrick Guinness focuses on the substance, practise and importance of community among people in a low-income urban settlement (kampung) in Java. He finds “strong local impulses to community, quite independent of state action” (2009: 24). The neighbourhood community is active and evolving as people living in the kampung engage with the world around them. The neighbourhood provides residents with some common experience and basic service provisioning, and, to some extent, people are able to come together in a corporate capacity; neighbourhoods are constructed in ways that amount to community. Residents establish “networks of cooperation in often difficult economic and political and social conditions” (ibid.: 26). They do this in part because of a lack of service provisioning from the state, but also because they have other ideas and interests. The relative strength and scale of such locally generated communities varies, however, across the wider settlement and over time. In a Philippine context, similar observations have been made by researchers in urban poor settlements in Manila. People come together to help each other out and solve common problems (Hollnsteiner 1975; Pinches 1986; Pinches 1994). Instead of an end

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14 The enclosure laws and expanding agrarian capitalism in England, Raymond Williams argues, did not bring about a “radically different social order,” at least not for everyone (ibid.: 102). The level of social stratification and occupational specialisation in the pre-enclosure village in England was in many areas much higher than the literature on the peasantry suggests.
to community, there is evidence of a resurgence or reconstitution of place-based community in an urban context. In Tondo, Pinches describes a diverse group of people, mostly with links to the Visayas, who were able to come together – based on similar class and status experience – and fight a common cause against powerful elite figures trying to get them evicted (1986: 3). In the midst of intensive pressures from state officials and private land market developers who seek to rationalise the city according to their own planning procedures and ideas of urban order and development, Pinches discovers an “architecture of intimacy and improvisation” (1994: 19), neighbourhoods with their own “locally generated spatial form” and “complex historical logic” (1994: 22). This is a spatial order which is profoundly shaped by the people who live and have lived in these areas. Proletarianisation and lower-class labour migration have been central to the formation of these neighbourhoods, as well as a common region of origin.

In coastal Sibulan, I will show similar tendencies, but will emphasise more strongly how kin-based mechanisms play a role in neighbourhood formations and affects who collaborate in livelihood projects, help each other in solving day-do-day problems, come together in conflicts over land and are able to obtain neighbourhood leadership positions. I will also put more focus on the conceptual challenge of linking social differentiation within neighbourhoods to processes of place-based community formation.

Preview of the argument and subsequent chapters
There are three elements to the argument. Firstly, I propose that place-based community and kinship links to land and ancestors have become more important to many people in coastal Sibulan. This goes against the prediction of scholars who argue that kinship and place-based community are less relevant in today’s world. While there may be a growing importance of translocal identities and cosmopolitan orientations, the majority of coastal dwellers in Sibulan interpret place-based community to be important to them, not only or primarily as a symbolic category, but as practise. Membership in a kinship coalition is crucial in terms of land tenure security, organisation of livelihoods, sense of
belonging, conflict resolution and in negotiations and brokerage activities with diverse others. At the same time, the conditions for and the interest in localism, and the ways through which different settler groups realise it have changed over time. It seems pertinent to find out what variability there might be in people’s attachment to land, place of origin and aspirations for the future.

In some of the literature on the marginalisation, fragmentation and proletarianisation of the peasantry, the representation of the landless and poor is rather static, the lower classes unable to exploit the opportunities brought about by modernity. The second element of the argument and the approach taken here is different in that I highlight a double movement, two different forms of social mobility. Among somewhat better-off segments of local families, there are members who separate themselves from the day-to-day life and intimate, multifaceted and ongoing relations in neighbourhoods. They pursue higher education, professional careers and develop cosmopolitan orientations to place and community. Their orientation and outlook reflect a stronger commitment to a different kind of authority from the one drawn from neighbourhood living and membership in extended families with original settler status. On Negros Island, this process of self-separation from the top end of place-based communities has a long history. Another process of social mobility is related to the desire to ‘become local’ in a new place. Migrant newcomers pursue social mobility through a localist style, trying to marry into families with long-term settler status or in other ways be accepted as members of local communities. Several chapters elaborate on the requirements for becoming and remaining a core member of place-based communities. This brings me to the topic of incorporation of newcomers into local families and the status distinctions between kin-based settler groups.

The third element to the argument highlights the importance of the early settler/newcomer distinction. I unpack the category ‘poor coastal dwellers’ in terms of early settlers and newcomers. The distinction between these two categories has received little attention and not been explicitly analysed in the literature on lowland Philippine
communities. Why, when and for whom is long-term settler status important and how do low-income settler groups obtain such status? I assess the advantages of being a member of a local kinship group with pioneer settler status and the disadvantages of non-membership under changing conditions.

By ‘place-based community’ I do not refer to something that is of interest and to the advantage of all coastal dwellers. It is easy to get nostalgic about the past and ascribe organic wholeness, cooperation and well-functioning sharing-arrangements to pre-modern societies or communities. One understanding of displacement and mobility has been influenced by this assumption (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 7). Gupta and Ferguson remind us that “‘community’ is never simply the recognition of cultural similarity and social contiguity but a categorical identity that is premised on various forms of exclusion and construction of otherness” (ibid.: 13). In this dissertation, kinship, family and community are examined along these lines, but I also pay considerable attention to the ‘substance of community’ as practice, household and neighbourhood livelihood relations, and social stratification within and between the invoked categories of coastal dwellers in Sibulan. Instead of interpreting the importance of kinship and neighbourhood community as a uniform reembedding response to disembembedding global forces, I will show various facets of localism across time periods and settler groups. The analysis of land tenure, local political status of family groups and livelihood differentiation – the three main themes that run through the various chapters – reveals key aspects of the changing conditions for and commitments to localism. The model of localism presented here – a place-based community – predicts that neighbourhoods, kinship links to pioneer settlers, attachment to land and ‘clanship’ emerge as key aspects of localising processes in the modern world.

In Chapter Two, I analyse the formation of coastal settlements during a period when export agriculture underwent rapid expansion and then declined. The chapter introduces the field site and documents the history of settlement in three coastal barangays of Sibulan. The main theme in the chapter is changes in land tenure that accompanied the
transformation of Negros Island into the main sugar producing area of the Philippines. Instead of being some ancient social formation, I show that coastal neighbourhoods became associated with particular family groups during a period of rapid expansion of export agriculture and new opportunities in fishing.

Chapter Three describes the emergence of different 'modes' of fishing, focusing primarily on fishing as an increasingly important source of income and livelihood, and as a source of status and common identity for some. The rapid increase in the number of small-scale fishermen during the second half of the 20th century brought about new ways of constructing coastal community relations.

In Chapter Four, I bring the material on the history of settlement, kin-based house groups, neighbourhood leadership and livelihood relations together to develop the argument that the status of a family name linked to the 'original people of the place' has become more, not less, important as a factor in defining place-based community membership and exerting control over coastal space and neighbourhood resources in peri-urban Sibulan. Chapters Two, Three and Four show that this is an area where people are moving in and pressure on resources are increasing. In this context, pioneer settler status and neighbourhood become more important.

Chapter Five shows that social differentiation has led to diverging strategies of identification among members of the same coastal dwelling families, some developing stronger cosmopolitan orientations and separating themselves from place-based community. A closer examination of social differentiation in terms of wealth, education and occupation reveal a double movement where localism and cosmopolitanism are intimately linked. Instead of assuming that place-based community fragments and localism loses status, I show that cosmopolitanism and localism inter-relate and – in important ways – constitute each other.
Chapter Six presents data on the latest group of newcomers to coastal Sibulan: rich beach house owners and beachfront property buyers. I show strong links between cosmopolitanism and commodification of beaches. I examine who these beachfront property owners are and the nature of their relationships with already settled families. The commodification of beaches poses considerable challenges to already settled groups and can be seen as a threat to the model of localism presented in previous chapters, but instead of leading to a fragmentation of localism, the ‘original people of the place’ shift their attention from developing relationships with migrant fishers and ‘poor newcomers’ to developing relationships with ‘rich newcomers.’

In Chapter Seven, I look at cleavages and cooperation among people who are brought together in court cases over land, their conflicting ideas of what gives one the right to live on, sell and use land along the shoreline. Despite being divisive and triggering family feuds among some long-term settled groups, I show that the ‘original people of the place’ have been successful at holding on to residential land, while other ‘informal’ settler groups have been much more vulnerable to displacement pressure.

Chapter Eight shows how fishermen with pioneer settler status use their training in coastal resource management and their own knowledge of marine environments to redraw and strengthen boundaries and distinctions between themselves and other categories of resource users, asserting authority to consolidate localism. While political patronage fuels factional conflicts among members of the same extended families, I show that it is the localised kin-groups’ strength rather than voter allegiance that is the more significant factor in structuring the pattern of regulation of the small-scale fisheries sector.

Chapter Seven and Eight provide further evidence to the argument that instead of fragmentation or proletarianisation of place-based communities, local leaders and their families apply a stricter definition of what it takes to be a full member of neighbourhood communities, to some extent drawing on state and rich newcomer resources to realise
localism. In doing so, under current conditions, poor coastal dwellers without kinship links to well-established families with original settler status are prevented from becoming full members of wider neighbourhood communities, instead being defined as squatters, trespassers and illegal fishers.

In the final chapter, I spell out the dynamics, power relations and contours of an ongoing process of place-based community formation and seek a fuller understanding of the 'original' settler/newcomer distinction and the place of the 'little community' in a rapidly changing peri-urban coastal location.

**Methodology**

The geographical area where I conducted fieldwork covered three coastal barangays within the municipality of Sibulan. The main focus was on people living in an area stretching four kilometres along the shoreline and about two hundred meters inland. Initially, the primary field site was limited to barangay Amio (a pseudonym), in particular one hamlet (purok) within that barangay. As part of the requirements for a master's degree in social anthropology at the Australian National University (ANU), I had undertaken some preliminary research and established working relations in Amio in 2003 and 2004, about four months of fieldwork. Since then, as a PhD-student, I have undertaken another year and a half of fieldwork in Sibulan. The main period of data collection extended from the beginning of October 2005 to the end of September 2006. During this period, I decided to expand the area of fieldwork to include the neighboring barangays to the north, first Talak and then later in the study, Minaba. The justification for the expansion of the field site was based on the observation that there are different histories of land use and tenure in the area which proved to have decisive influence on

15 The names of the barangays and the people I have worked with are pseudonyms.

16 The topic of research was different, as I was looking at young people's use and non-use of new communications technologies, in particular mobile phones, to learn about their social networks (Knudsen 2004)
the status of settler groups as ‘locals.’ When I refer to ‘coastal Sibulan,’ this is shorthand for the area where fieldwork was undertaken.

The vast majority of households surveyed had members who were involved in small-scale producer and trader activities, such as fishing and gleaning for seashells and other edible and sellable foods or marine products in the shallows, ‘trawling’ for bangus (milkfish) fry, making copra and nipa shingles for sale, driving tricycles, operating small buy and sell stores (sari-sari) and renting out smaller sheds (payag-payag) to picnickers and swimmers coming out to the beach during weekends and on public holidays. These households often also had members who worked elsewhere. 131 households were included in a more detailed survey of livelihood, income, education and consumption. In Amio, where I lived during most of the time of field study, 78 households were included in the survey. These consisted of both rich and poor, early settlers and newcomers. There were about one hundred households in total in coastal Amio, so the survey covered the vast majority. In Talak, 38 households of an estimated total number of about 160 were singled out for more detailed study. Focus in Talak was not on ‘rich newcomers’ who owned beach houses and middle-class commuters and retirees, but on small-scale producers and traders from three different locations along the coastline of that barangay. In Minaba, I covered only about 10 per cent of all coastal dwellers in the more detailed survey, or 15 households. The main reason for the smaller share of households included in the survey was lack of time to nurture good trust relationships. I was initially faced with high degree of suspicion and a research assistant was at one stage threatened by a local leader. The reason for the high degree of suspicion was directly linked to intensified efforts by some government officials and an outside title holder to evict the residents (see Chapter Seven). In the end, however, we were able to get access, but at that stage also running out of time.

Two follow-up trips allowed me to gather extra information on additional settler groups and to update data on various livelihood activities, court cases and other developments. The last fieldwork was undertaken in June 2008. Thus data used in this dissertation have
been gathered over a period of five years. Long-term fieldwork has allowed me to develop good relationships with several family groups living along the shoreline. I have participated in neighborhood meetings, gone on fishing trips and participated in celebrations and rituals, and through household surveys, interviews, focus groups, casual conversations and the assistance of 'record keepers,' I have collected data on histories of settlement, various livelihood activities, education, housing, land tenure, consumption and aspirations. A daily record of the catch of 30 fishers and gleaners was collected, most of them for more than six months and some for more than a year. The record consists of the species caught, the amount in kg, the location of the catch, how much was consumed and how much was sold for what price. For the same group of people, I also recorded other sources of income, including migration for work to other places. I have sought to apply a broader concept of livelihood, one that includes people's diverse commitments to and interests in fishing. This data has allowed me to learn more about their particular work patterns, cooperation and sharing arrangements. To analyse kin-based settler groups and coastal property developments, I have made a detailed map of all structures along the coastline of the three barangays. Data has also been collected in various local institutions, such as the municipal office of Sibulan and various provincial government offices in Dumaguete (maps, land use plans, development plans, historical records of landownership titles and transactions, court documents). This information has been supplemented with interviews of the various parties involved in coastal land transactions. I have obtained reliable data on the price and land tenure status of these lots. I have also had conversations with researchers who have been involved in coastal resource management projects in the area, some attached to educational institutions, in particular Silliman University (located in Dumaguete City), and a non-governmental organisation located in Cebu City.

The interviews and the survey were conducted with the help of a local research assistant and, for about one month, an external assistant who also helped with transcription.
Chapter Two: Agrarian transformation and the formation of coastal settlements

On Negros, "everything progresses; land is surveyed, the boundaries marked, and then land is bought. As if by a miracle, haciendas [plantations] and villages arise. The Island is in the midst of rapid progress..." (Echauz 1978 [1894]: 23).

Negros is known as the 'sugar island of the Philippines.' Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the densely forested island was 'opened up' for sugarcane production. Being sparsely populated, planters linked to foreign commercial houses relied on middlemen to recruit labour from surrounding islands (McCoy 1982; Lopez-Gonzaga 1991; Aguilar 1998; Larkin 2001). Apart from settling onto plantations, newcomers settled next to already settled peasant small-holders and landless fisher-farmers. Most coastal forests on Negros had been cleared by the 1890s and an emerging class of hacenderos was able to claim ownership of vast tracts of land.

Focussed on a period when export agriculture expanded rapidly and then declined, this chapter examines the relationship between agrarian transformation and coastal settlement formation. Data on work histories, land tenure, settlement and kinship show that while some settler groups from a fisher-farmer background became involved in relations of patronage and employment with regional planter elites, at the same time the coastline provided space for landless and landpoor groups to (re)establish themselves closer to the shoreline and develop a stronger orientation to the sea. I will in this chapter show that coastal neighbourhoods took form and became associated with particular family groups during a period of rapid expansion of export agriculture.

Given the complexity of the issues surrounding land tenure, I will leave a fuller account of fishing and coastal livelihoods to Chapters Three and Four. Drawing on secondary
literature, the first part of this chapter gives a brief overview of some of the literature on socio-political arrangements and land tenure regimes on Negros Island during the pre-colonial and Spanish colonial eras. Moving into the twentieth century, in addition to secondary literature, I draw upon oral histories, government records of land ownership and sales, old maps and other material obtained during fieldwork to give a fuller account of land tenure in coastal Sibulan.

Pre-colonial society and Spanish colonial rule

In the first accounts given by the Spaniards, as they sailed along the coast of Negros in 1565, they observed settlements clustered along rivers cultivating rice (Larkin 2001: 36). The Spaniards were fascinated by the ‘Negritos’ and named the island after them. 18 The Negritos inhabited the inland and mountainous areas, while coastal areas were settled by people of ‘Malay’ 19 ethnic background (ibid.: 35).

Throughout the archipelago, the literature suggests that people were grouped together in settlements known as barangay 20 (‘villages’) led by datus (‘pre-colonial chiefs’) (Scott

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17 Hacienda refers to plantation in the Philippines. The owner of the hacienda is called hacendero. In Latin America, plantations were named latifundios and planters were called hacendados (Aguilar 1998: 116).

18 The Spanish referred to different tribes of aboriginals as Negritos. Apart from Aeta or Ati aboriginal groups, they also categorised ‘proto-Malays’ into the group of ‘hill-people,’ such as Bukidnons, Montes, Mangyans, Mondos, Carolanos and Ambaks (Don V. Hart, introduction to (Echauz 1978 [1894]), p. xviii). Remontado was the Spanish term for former lowlanders who preferred to live in the hills, removed from the colonial order (Larkin 2001: 38-39).

Negros is the fourth largest island of the Philippine archipelago, covering 12,706 square kilometres. In 1890, the island was divided into two provinces, Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental. Dumaguete became the provincial capital of Negros Oriental, located five kilometres south of the town of Sibulan. Cebuano is the main language in Negros Oriental, while in Negros Occidental, the language spoken by most people is Ilonggo (or Hiligaynon). The island of Negros is divided by a tall mountain range which has limited the interaction between Ilonggo and Cebuano speakers.

19 The origin of Malays has been traced back to Taiwan and southern China. Malays are part of a broader category of Austronesian-speaking people (Bellwood, Fox et al. 2006).

20 These settlements were variable in size, ranging frequently between thirty and one hundred households (Aguilar 1998: 63). Aguilar suggests that the name for a village in Visayan was hapon or haop (ibid.: 63). Among Tagalog speakers, the term barangay was commonly used. The Spanish standardised the name of the smallest political-administrative unit to barangay. Under American colonial rule, the barangay was renamed barrio. The term for the smallest government unit in the Philippine political
1994). The pre-colonial pattern of polity was one of fluid ties and shifting alliances (Junker 1999). These were "petty datu-ships" (Sidel 1999: 13) compared to many polities elsewhere in Southeast Asia. A 'bond slave' could become a datu over the course of a generation, or a datu could fall into misfortune and lose his following (Scott 1994; Cannell 1999: 10). On the pre-colonial pattern of land tenure and use, Henry William Scott says: "Recognized barangay members had the right to use the houselots, gardens, orchards and irrigated fields their parents had been using" (1994: 171). Swiddens that were abandoned after harvesting were not inheritable. Datus tended to control larger and more strategic landholdings than what their followers did (Aguilar 1998: 66). The barangay chief could also "dispose of uncultivated or unoccupied land within the barangay domain" (Scott 1994).

Some datuships were linked to international trade of marine and forest products. Laura Lee Junker reports evidence of international trade in prestige goods going back to the 13th century in the Tanjay-Bais area, about thirty kilometres north of Sibulan. Forest products were traded for Chinese porcelains. Commercialisation of forest products likely led to increased volume of upland-lowland trade and the establishment of larger camps and villages along the Tanjay river during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1999: 250-260). According to Junker, territoriality per se was less important for datus than to control trade and manpower, have supporters, protectors, raiders and slaves.

system was changed back to barangay under Marcos. The official name for the sub-barangay unit or hamlet is purok in Sibulan. Purok is also a remnant-name from the Marcos regime, adopted in 1974.

Fredrick L. Wernstedt reports of widespread inter-island trade in pre-colonial times. There was also trade with China, Japan and Borneo, mostly by Chinese junks, just prior to Spanish colonisation. The Spanish rulers sought to discourage and imposed strict regulation on inter-island and overseas trade and travel (1956: 336).

Andrew Walker finds Laura Lee Junker's study of pre-colonial Philippine chiefdoms to be useful in challenging the assumption of autonomy and consensus in pre-modern community life: Junker's study "demonstrates that competitive feasting, uneven access to trade in luxury status goods, manipulation of patron-client relations, agricultural intensification and rampant slavery were transformative forces in both coastal chiefdoms and in upstream settlements of agriculturists and hunter-gatherers" (Walker 2001: 4-5).
The barangay was, in other words, not composed of a closed, socially homogeneous, immobile group of villagers attached to native soil (Breman 1988: 24). Breman and others have convincingly argued that it was 19th century colonial rulers who were keen "to organise the peasant economy on a territorial basis," treating it as a unit of taxation and policy execution (ibid.: 16). The village became the ideal-type administrative social unit among European colonisers, who constructed it to be the primary social nucleus around which social life revolves. The creation of missions, parishes and barangays were linked to the interests and perceived administrative needs of the Spanish colonial authorities.

With Spanish colonial rule, state officials and friars relied on indigenous leaders as brokers to spread their influence, claim and control space and resources, institute settlement policies, promote ideas of progress and seek legitimacy. In 1571, Negros was divided into districts (encomiendas) assigned to favoured minions in the provinces of Cebu and Iloilo. Within each district, the population was subject to pay tribute to an encomendero. Tanjay became the first Spanish administrative centre on the east coast of Negros and Augustinian priests opened the first mission in 1580. The Augustinian priests were sent to Tanjay by the archdeacon of Cebu. The Tanjay mission also serviced Dumaguete and other coastal towns further south. The priests noted that a large proportion of the population of Tanjay had come from Bohol, suggesting that there was considerable movement of people between the islands. Most of the newcomers to the east coast of Negros came from the more populated and landpoor island of Cebu and Bohol. They were Cebuano speakers taking up either corn or rice farming combined to some extent with gleaning,\(^\text{23}\) fishing, animal husbandry and home industries. Western and northern part of Negros had strong social and economic ties with Panay Island and

\(^{23}\) Gleaning (in this thesis) refers to the collection of molluscs and crustaceans in the intertidal zone. Gleaning is an important subsistence economic activity in the region, but it can also be an important source of income (LeBlanc 1997).
was settled by Ilonggo speakers. Larkin points out that "the waters of the Visayas have served as a link between people, and the mountains have kept them apart" (2001: 37).

Apart from the presence of the missions, Negros was largely ignored by Spanish authorities for two centuries.24 Negros was covered with dense jungle and sparsely populated. In the 18th century, as commercial activities expanded, datus obtained hereditary positions as town executives (gobernadorcillos). The gobernadorcillos exercised judicial and executive powers, enforced legal statutes, collected taxes, administered corvee labour and served as local business agents (Sidel 1999: 14). Indigenous "local strongmen" became under this arrangement, according to John T. Sidel, "subcontracted agents of the state..." (1999: 15). While flight and resistance were common responses to the various forms of discipline imposed by colonial authorities, many local leaders collaborated with the Spaniards and drew on their resources (and spiritual sources of power) to gain authority and join together communities, an observation that rings true for other areas of Southeast Asia as well (Li 2001: 44).

With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, the market conditions changed and colonial economic policies were revised (Larkin 2001: 20). Foreign registered ships began legally to trade in Manila in 1790 and in 1834 the port of Manila became fully open to international trade (Larkin 2001: 24). The galleon trade, which had been the only major link between the colony and the rest of the Spanish empire since 1565, came to an end in 1815. The Spanish colonial state depended on silver from New Spain to keep afloat. By the 1820s, export agriculture and cash crop production had expanded in several regions of the colony, but Spanish colonial rulers were not the key actors in linking localities to world markets through export trade. By and large, the Spanish colonial state lacked the capital and perhaps conviction to encourage commercial agriculture. Instead,

24 According to Alfred McCoy, "the archipelago was too remote for bulk trade, produced neither pepper nor spices, and was too lightly populated for mines or plantations" (1982: 6). The population of Filipinas was around 580,000 1606. Mexico's population was 11 million in 1519. Overall, the archipelago was seen as a remote outpost in Spain's colonial empire, a "missionary province" with few economic resources (ibid.).
according to Vicente Rafael, the colonial state “sought to contain the effect of foreign commerce and the circulation of foreign capital through protectionist measures and regressive taxation, while censoring new ideas and sentiments that entered the colony from outside” (2005: 5). Even if governing elites within the Spanish colonial state were eventually able to conceive of the potential to earn income from agricultural crop production and established a tobacco monopoly controlling export to Spain, it was foreign merchants who now dominated the export trade by setting up trading houses and encouraged the cultivation of cash crops. During the 1840s, more migrants from neighbouring islands settled along the south-eastern coast of Negros, establishing themselves next to previous settler groups.

When the British consular office opened in Manila in 1844, it “made it plain that the increased cultivation and manufacturing of sugar in Filipinas would be extremely beneficial for Madrid’s royal exchequer” (Aguilar 1998: 82). With higher sugarcane prices in the 1850s, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the arrival of British and U.S. investment firms providing capital to aspiring planters, the nature of local resource claims changed rapidly on Negros. Pioneer planters began to arrive in larger numbers. The investment firms used cash advances and loans as a mechanism to secure access to exportable produce (McCoy 1977: 85, 87, Aguilar 1998: 119). Many planters depended on this system to be able to establish themselves as hacenderos and to expand production (Aguilar 1998: 108-9). Wealthier planters began lending money to smaller ones, charging higher interest rates than the commercial houses. They bought rice and corn fields and unused property from smallholders and peasant migrants from

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25 The investment houses were mostly Anglo-American, but also one Swizz. They were located in the port city of Iloilo on the neighbouring island of Panay. Panay was the most densely populated island in the archipelago and Iloilo had a population of 71,000 inhabitants organised around the weaving industry. The port of Iloilo opened to international trade in 1855 (McCoy 1982).

26 Retired military and civilian bureaucrats, to take one example of aspiring hacenderos, had lived on meagre salaries and did not have the capital to embark on sugarcane production (Aguilar 1998: 118).
neighbouring islands, in particular along rivers and streams, to grow sugarcane (McCoy 1982: 317; Larkin 2001: 65).

The promise of agricultural lands, huge profits and jobs attracted speculators and farm workers to Negros. The population of Negros increased from an estimated 50,000 around 1850 to more than 400,000 by the turn of the century (Larkin 2001: 61; McCoy 1982: 311; Aldecoa-Rodriguez 1989: 163).27 Spanish immigrants, Chinese-Spanish mestizo and native elites who married with settler-planters were all members of an emerging class of *hacenderos*, united in their common desire to make money from sugar production on their large landholdings (Lopez-Gonzaga 1991: 115).28 Chinese-Filipino traders, many of them drawing on links they had already established with the countryside, reinvented themselves as planters (Rafael 2005: 7). In the first main sugarcane producing region along the east coast, in Tanjay and Bais, mostly Spanish planters became large-scale landowners.

Most lands were informally titled and properties were described not so much in lot size as in terms of rice or corn seedlings or sugar cane cuttings needed to plant the land (Larkin 2001: 66). Purchase agreements of landed property became one form of recognition of ownership. These purchase agreements were used to formalise titles in the 1870s, when the government introduced programs of land registration (ibid.: 66-68). Larger blocks of land became available to planters when the Spanish government began distributing 'public lands' (*realengas*) to petitioners at giveaway prices in the 1880s (ibid.: 68). All land that was not formally claimed, such as the interior of the island inhabited by aboriginal groups, was defined as "crown property" (ibid.: 69). There was a rapid increase in land transaction during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Many smallholders continued to sell their land for cash, perhaps thinking that it was still

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27 The population data varies from source to source, but the census data from 1903 suggests that Negros Occidental had a population of 303,000 and Negros Oriental a population of 151,000.

28 Sugar capitalism, Aguilar argues, transcended some previous racial barriers (Aguilar 1998: 106).
easy to open up new land for cultivation (Aguilar 1998: 115). Almost all coastal forest on Negros had been cleared by the 1890s and most of this land was owned by the new *hacendero* class who grew sugarcane wherever possible, exporting primarily to the U.S. However, as I will show below, there were also examples of rice cultivators who were able to hold on to their lands for much longer, combining agricultural work with fishing, gleaning, various home industries and trade.

With expanding international markets for agricultural commodities in the second half of the nineteenth century, Negros Island was transformed into the largest sugar-producing area of the Philippines. As seen from *hacendero* perspective, the period from the 1870s to the 1920s was characterised by labour shortage. This was a time when sugar planters were “begging for labourers” and the peasants proved to be “elusive” (Aguilar 1998: 127, 62). There was massive recruitment of workers from neighbouring islands, people who were brought into relations of patronage, some of them more multiplex and long-lasting patron-client ties, but also temporary workers were used during the busy months on many sugarcane plantations. Many of the temporary workers returned

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29 In 1880, a group of sixty *hacenderos* got together and formed an organisation to formulate policies to ensure a stable supply of and improved control over labour. Robustiano Echauz was elected president of the organisation. Born in Spain, Echauz worked for the Spanish colonial regime in the Philippines, where he occupied the position of Judge of First Instance in Bacolod, Negros, from 1881-1885. The organisation proposed to undertake an extensive inquiry to uncover the “scandalous number” of people without any gainful employment. Echauz writes:

> There are sufficient labourers on the island, but they do not like daily work in the fields. They prefer to enjoy the bounties of the plains and mountains laden with fruit or the resources of the rivers and the seas that, with little effort, provide them with their daily bread. The need for able hands in Negros can only be answered by seeking them in other provinces (1978 [1894]: 61).

The *hacenderos* paid cash advances to attract labour, but had little guarantee the workers would not flee (ibid.: 62). To gain greater control over workers and prevent flight, the organisation Echauz headed proposed to implement a new law requiring all workers to carry an identity card, ban vagrancy and the movement of people without proper documentation and permission (*indocumentados*) (ibid.: 123).

30 Sugar plantations on Negros tended to have two groups of workers – one that lived on the farm and had sharecropping contracts (*acsa* or *agsa*), and one group of migrant seasonal workers. Sharecropping was the most common contract form, although “varying with the financial situation and social position of the *hacienda* owner” (Echauz 1978 [1894]: 30). If the landowner supplied draft animals and ploughing implements, the sharecropper received one-third of the value of the product, usually paid in cash. On haciendas with iron mills, 9 to 12 per cent were removed from the tenant’s share (ibid.).
home after each season while others established themselves at the outskirts of plantations, mills or in nearby towns. New settlements and communities were created.

The ideological divide between mercantilism and liberalism came to clash in the 1890s. Spanish sugar barons in Negros Oriental joined the anti-Spanish colonial revolutionary movement, converted to Protestantism, sought improved export conditions by being accommodating to U.S. forces and, in November 1898, asked for protectorate status (Aguilar 1994b: 170). Under U.S. colonial occupation, the class dominance of sugar planters was significantly strengthened, as they successfully courted the patronship of the new world economic superpower. Under U.S. colonial rule, formalisation of land claims received more backing in the form of resources and sense of urgency.

**Land titling under American colonial rule**

The mapping of the archipelago’s economic resources was scaled up, both on land and at sea. Development of the logging industry went hand in hand with the expansion of

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At haciendas that were more remote, tenants and resident workers rarely left the hacienda premises. They were introduced to new consumer goods at the hacienda store. Liquor, cloth, tobacco and other goods were sold to the “field hands” by a representative of the proprietor (Echauz 1978 [1894]: 30). Many hacenderos would also have cockfighting arenas, provide religious services and sponsor annual fiesta celebrations. A broadened family concept was put to use to allow for social bonding (Aguilar 1998: 142). Aguilar says: “the ease with which the ruling class allowed themselves to be referred to, not as aunts and uncles, but as siblings of poor workers [serves] as a reminder of the invention of the family construct during the Spanish colonial epoch” (ibid.: 219). Resident workers also used the name of the planter to christen their children. Landlords treated tenants and their family as part of a wider unity, although of inferior social status, employing a language 50/50 partnership, extended kinship, as well as sponsoring festivals, baptism rituals and providing credit at the hacienda store to produce a loyal, cooperative labour force and extract surplus in subtle ways. The landed elite played the role of the ‘good patron’ due to “incomplete class dominance” (ibid.: 145).

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31 Don Demetrio Larena was elected President of the Revolutionary Government of Oriental Negros in 1898 and became the first governor of the province under American government in 1901. The Revolutionary Government established the Philippine Independent Church, also called the Aglipayan church, in the province (Aldecoa-Rodriguez: 1989b: 51).

32 Local and regional elites teamed up with American researchers and administrators to map the natural resources of the archipelago. Forests, agricultural lands and oceans were explored for their export value. The U.S. Fish Commission’s research vessel MV Albatross got approval for surveying fishing grounds in the Philippines in 1907 (Alcala 2001: 3). In the early days of U.S. colonial rule, the marine export trade was brought to a new record level. In the Southern Philippines, where Chinese pearl traders had
sugarcane plantations. In addition to sugar, the colonial authorities were keen to import copra from the Philippines. In Negros Oriental, vast areas of land were planted with coconut trees during the first decade of the 20th century, mostly on land less suitable for sugar, along coastlines and steeper terrain, but also on land previously planted with corn (maiz). Land planted with coconut trees became a popular investment object among those who had money. Governing elites sought legitimacy for their vast landholdings and private wealth accumulation by linking their economic projects to ideas of modernisation and economies of scale, national economic growth (sugar being a key export earner) and being large-scale providers of much-needed jobs to the poor. The U.S. colonial regime provided resources which allowed some among the local elites to build themselves up as powerful figures on a provincial, regional and national level (Sidel 1999). According to Aguilar, it was in the 1920s and 1930s that sugarcane planters and sugar mill owners were able to establish a wider-reaching system based on flexible use of paid labour and squeeze the wage rate of migrant workers, reflecting a stronger class dominance of the elites (Aguilar 1994: 145).

Apart from rapid expansion of export agriculture, infrastructure developments, growth of more permanent state institutions and a new education system, with American developed the industry in earlier centuries, there was a rapid expansion in exports during the first decades of American rule (Randall 1977: 13).

33 "During the first seven years of American rule, a considerable acreage of land in the province had been planted to coconut trees." (Aldecoa-Rodriguez 1989a: 78). It has been estimated that the Philippines produced one quarter of the world's copra by 1914 (Randall 1977: 14). Corn was the most common staple in the Visayas. In the 1960s, rice was still considered a luxury item by most people in the wider Dumaguete area (Pal and Polson 1973).

34 Tenants would take care of the groves, living on the land, watching out for poachers and, four times per year, collect and take out the meat of the shells, to dry and sell the copra on a sharing arrangement with the landowner (Allen 1938: 59).

35 Larkin, too, suggest deteriorating conditions at this time: "It appears that the wages for sacadas went down from P0.90 to P0.60 per day after 1930..." (2001: 305, endnote 57). In 1970, Larkin interviewed former sacadas living in Atique, Panay, who had worked at sugarcane plantations on Negros during the 1920s and 1930s. Most disliked the place and felt homesick, but did the work because they needed the money.
colonial rule in the Philippines came a stronger emphasis on the importance of protecting private lands through state-guaranteed titles (Kerkvliet 1997: 3). The concept of alienability of land as private property had already been institutionalised in many parts of the Philippines by the Spanish colonial administration, but a nationwide system of individual landownership was first established under American rule (ibid.).

The land registration office in Negros Oriental was established in 1904. Having a common standard for land registration was seen by the Americans and the hacendero elites who took political office to be, according to one author,

"vitally necessary to promote public order, awaken a sense of responsible citizenship and, most of all, foster the development and productiveness of the land. People were only willing to spend money to improve property that they were sure belonged to them and on which they could borrow money" (Aldecoa-Rodriguez 1989b: 81)

A nationwide cadastral survey began in 1913, requiring all landowners to obtain Torrens titles. The new procedures for obtaining legal title worked to the advantage of those who knew how the system worked, "typically those within the colonial administration itself" (Kerkvliet 1997: 5; Larkin 2001: 69). In Negros Oriental, which had become a separate province in 1890, large planters and the families that dominated the logging industry occupied key positions in the colonial legislature and bureaucracy. Close friends or relatives held positions in the judiciary. Military and police forces were used to secure peace, order and the property claims of governing elites.

Elite landowners and public officials became 'backers' of barangay captains to seek to structure local social relations so as to control resource use and ownership claims, but also to shore up election support. In the 'conventional' view, barangay captains and

36 According to Aguilar: "even before the commercial revolution of the late eighteenth century, the small-holdings of indios – the Spanish socio-legal category for the largest segment of the native population – were demarcated from lands owned by the native elite" (Aguilar 1998: 70).

37 The Land Registration Act of 1902 and the Public Land Act of 1903 made the distinction between private and public land, established the legal framework for private ownership and implemented the Torrens titling system (cadastral survey and registration). No legal concept of 'customary ownership' was developed under Spanish and American colonial rule in the Philippines.
local leaders supply votes to the landlord’s political candidates: “A landlord who has many tenants is ‘somebody’ in local or national politics because he controls the votes of the tenant families” (Poison and Pal 1956: 87). Tenants can be threatened with eviction if they do not vote for the landlords’ candidate (ibid.: 83). By obtaining state-backed title to vast areas of land, the juridical owner may position him or herself as benevolent by giving permission to let people stay on the property, in exchange for votes and other kinds of support.

Even in areas where cash crop agriculture was not a dominant force, new sentiments and opinions about the value and best uses of land, as well as the future of corn and rice farming, were forged. With rapidly expanding markets for subsistence crops to feed a growing island population, including plantation workers, and high demand for new land for export crops by outside investors, the price of land went up. Notions of occupancy rights and rights of alienation and other disposals had to some extent to be understood and practised within a framework of – or at least in relation to – the new formalised state procedures. Nevertheless, displacement pressure from land titled in the name of provincial elite landowners seemed not to be acute in coastal Sibulan during the first half of the 20th century. As I will show next, this is reflected in the near absence of settlement along the coastline and on the beach during this time period.

**Local patterns of land tenure in coastal Sibulan: 1890s – 1980s**

Sibulan, having been made into a parish under the secular order in 1838 and assigned a regular priest in 1856, became a municipal government in 1910. The municipality consisted of territorially defined government-administered *barangays*. The formation of a municipal government was meant to facilitate more effective imposition of administrative order and promote investments in land and infrastructure. The Cadastral Survey of land in Dumaguete began in 1916 and the land in Sibulan underwent surveying between 1918 and 1920. Claimants had to inform the surveyors of the exact boundaries of the land they claimed. The surveyors then placed monuments on the ground to mark the lands. But as the government required validation of individual
claims before title was granted, mere occupation of land without tax receipts may in many instances not have sufficed. Also in parts of Sibulan, those with senior positions in the colonial bureaucracy, already part of the landed Negrense elite, did obtain many new lots and increased the size of their registered lands during the first decades of American rule. Governing elites used their powers to influence state institutions to allow for alienation and disposition of coastal lands.

**Amio and Minaba 1890 – 1950**

According to a former barangay captain of Amio, the best land in the barangay was planted to rice (rain-fed, one crop per year) until “a certain Spanish landlord acquired some rice fields in exchange for kilos of pork or beef and sometimes a pair of trousers.”\(^{38}\) This version of how rice farmers lost their land may suggest the peasants were short-sighted and easily lured into giving up their landholdings. What we do know is that a member of a provincial elite family, one of the largest sugar planter families in the province at the turn of the 20\(^{th}\) century, gradually expanded his landholdings in Amio and into Minaba (Amio was a hamlet within the barangay of Minaba until 1960). By the time the cadastral survey was finished in Sibulan in 1920, about two-thirds of all land in Amio (totalling 163 hectares) was titled in the name of a member of a very prominent *hacendero* family. This family never lived in Sibulan, but relied on tenancy contracts to manage the work process in the agricultural fields. The land was planted mostly to rice and coconut, and perhaps sugarcane prior to the 1920s.\(^{39}\) Some of the tenant farmers were brought in from other places. Other tenant farmers were from long-

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\(^{38}\) Cited in the barangay development and investment plan 2006-2010.

\(^{39}\) Many sugarcane plantations in the wider Dumaguete area closed down during the 1920s as a result of centralised milling. Philippine sugar was no longer competitive on world markets. A changing trading regime gave incentives to investors to establish modern centrifugal factories that could produce high-grade sugar. Referred to as ‘sugar central,’ the centrifugal factories were typically located close to the main plantations of influential planters and would serve many plantations in a wider area, depending on the availability of roads and railway lines. It was when the sugar central in Bais began operating in 1919 (Compania Azucarera de Bais) that cane planting and milling were gradually abandoned in the wider Dumaguete area (Pal and Polson 1973: 24). The milling capacity of the sugar central in Bais was 1,000 tons of cane per day (Aldecoa-Rodriguez 1989a: 80).
term settled families. Overall, there looks to have been a relatively small cohort of smallholders in Amio during this period (see discussion below).

Another sizable landowner in Amio was an educational institution in Dumaguete. This institution, whose trustee was also a provincial elite *hacendero* politician, was interested in establishing a school garden and a farm. By 1920, this institution owned about 10 hectares of rice fields in Amio. According to one informant, these rice fields did not have tenancy contracts, but used *pakyaw* (or package deal) contracts (the workers are hired for one crop season and paid fixed rates per hectare). Many coastal dwellers in Amio have a history of working in the rice fields and combining this with fishing, gleaning and other kinds of work.

In Minaba, a similar pattern of landownership concentration took place. An elite *hacendero* family, originally from Molo, Panay Island, obtained formal title to most of the land in Minaba during the 1890s and had the land planted with sugarcane. The estate manager (*encargado*) at the sugar plantation in Minaba was a member of this family. The sugarcane was milled at the plantation (*muscovado* sugar).

The majority of residents of Amio/Minaba relied on the crop decisions of a few landowners and were prevented from acquiring ownership of land through inheritance. Given the social status gap between *hacenderos’* children and the children of tenants and the prevalence of absenteeism, marriage between the children of title holders and workers were not taking place.

**Amio and Minaba 1950 – 1980**

Around 1950, the two provincial elite *hacendero* families who held title to most of the land in Amio and Minaba began to sell out portions of their landholdings. Some of this land was sold to other provincial elite *hacendero* families and other parcels to business owners, government officials and professionals of various kinds. Another Spanish sugar planter in the province bought more than fifty hectares of land in Amio, but he did not
settle in the barangay. Some parcels of this land were leased out. Other parcels were subdivided and sold.

About ten hectares of land was leased by another absentee hacendero and planted with sugarcane. Herman Partosa, the head of a better-off peasant household in Amio, one of only a few long-term settled families that have continued to own some agricultural land throughout the 20th century (mostly coconut and nipa palm), obtained the position as administrator or foreman (cabo). He reported to a supervisor (encargado) who did not live in Amio. Like most cabos on Negros, Herman’s main task was to manage the labour force. He lived close to worker families in somewhat better housing, was literate, and did not do manual labour (Larkin 2001: 77). He needed to hire only a few permanent workers (duma’an). Most of the labourers came from Bindoy (formerly Payabon), 80 kilometers north of Sibulan, and from Santander, across the Tañon Strait, on the southern tip of Cebu Island. A middleman contracted the temporary workers (sacadas) for the busy months from November to May. A Chinese-Filipino trader and businessman was the sole buyer of the muscovado sugar produced in Sibulan during the 1950s and 1960s. Most of it was sold in Dumaguete and in towns and cities in the region, being popular mainly because it was cheaper than higher-grade sugar. One of the sons of Herman later became a long-serving barangay captain of Amio and was during fieldwork a relatively popular leader among several groups of coastal dwellers in the barangay (see Chapter Four).

On land owned by absentee owners and planted with coconut and rice, the tenant farmers frequently relied on extended kin to work in the fields. This pattern may have been the result of a preference among the tenants stemming from an obligation to provide jobs for their own family, or the belief that kin could be trusted to do the work while non-kin would need more supervision and labour control. It is also possible that some tenant farmers exploited the obligation to ‘help family’ to access a cheaper source of labour. I will not go into speculation on these issues, but instead note that, as a result of centralised milling in Bais and the closing down of the old mills in the wider
Dumaguete area around 1920s, combined with continuing expansion of sugarcane plantations in new areas of Negros, the population size of Sibulan was stagnant. The 10 hectares planted to sugarcane in Amio in the 1950s did not affect the broader trend. According to official sources, the number of residents in Sibulan declined by seventeen percent between 1918 and 1948.\(^{40}\) Many of those who had come to work in the sugarcane fields in the wider Dumaguete area moved to other areas to find jobs or to establish themselves as smallholders. Many also sought out new opportunities in Mindanao.\(^{41}\)

Tendencies to "land speculation" were observed in peri-urban Dumaguete in the early 1950s, especially along the provincial highway (Polson and Pal 1956: 55).\(^{42}\) The increased frequency of buying and selling of land in Amio/Minaba suggests that outsiders could buy and sell land seemingly unhindered. The dominance of outsiders in land control looked to be increasing. Town and provincial elite figures were actively engaged in formal land transactions and in reclassifying agricultural lands to new uses. Emerging middle-class segments of Negrense society bought land for investment purposes. At this time, one new investment opportunity was aquaculture. What had previously been seen as unproductive swamps by agrarian and urban elites became lucrative land for establishing fishponds. In the Philippines, from the 1940s, aquaculture

\(^{40}\) The population of Sibulan was estimated to be 8413 in 1903 and increased to 9833 in 1918. In 1948, the population was estimated to be 8096.

\(^{41}\) Since the turn of the 20\(^{th}\) century, Visayans migrated in vast numbers to frontier areas of Mindanao (Mangahas 2004). In the Philippines, a frontier strategy of resettling in less densely populated areas along the coasts or in upland areas have been an option many rural poor have followed throughout the twentieth century (Umehara and Bautista 2004). Based on extensive household survey data in the larger Dumaguete area (including Bacong, Valencia and Sibulan), 42 percent of the individuals sampled in 1952 did not live in the area in 1967 (Pal and Polson 1973: 43). Pal and Polson estimate that 36% were distributed to other places in Negros Oriental, 35% to Mindanao and 17% to the Greater Manila Area (1973: 43). Don V. Hart, who did fieldwork in southern Negros, also reports of widespread migration during the 1950s and 1960s, much of it circular labour migration of young, unmarried residents (Hart 1971).

\(^{42}\) Residential lots along the highway had reached a price of 5-10 pesos per square meter, while in the centre of Dumaguete, land could sell for as much as 60 pesos per square meter. This was at a time when the minimum wage for agricultural work was 2 pesos per day.
was actively promoted with the justification that it would speed up national economic growth and allow for much needed employment. Also in Negros Oriental, large areas of mangrove forests were cleared for the development of fishponds and fish farms. The Negrense elites were able to get the permits, labour and capital needed to extend their titled lands all the way down to the sea for fishpond or other aquaculture developments (Walters 2003). A Chinese-Filipino businessman bought eleven hectares of land along the coastline of Minaba in 1955. This land was cleared of large mangrove trees and made into fishponds. Another town-based elite family, the largest dried fish trader in Dumaguete during the mid-20th century, bought a coastal lot in Amio in 1967. This lot looks to have been bought for the purpose of establishing a fishpond, but the plan never materialised. The title holder never used the land, but some of his children have since the mid-1990s tried to evict those who live on this stretch of the coastline (see Chapter Seven).

As the rate of buying, subdividing and selling land increased, displacement pressure from land owned by absentee titleholders became stronger. The families who lived in Amio and Minaba without formal title to land or who were marginal peasants gradually began to settle closer to the shoreline. The first families to settle next to the beach of Minaba were newcomers to the area. There were no long-term settled families living on this stretch of the coastline in the mid-1950s. It was when a few families were brought to Minaba from a sugarcane plantation in Tanjay to work on land owned by the same hacendero in Amio/Minaba that settlement began along this stretch of the shoreline. In 1957, one family became the caretaker of the fishpond and settled between the pond and the beach. This family was later joined by additional kin-members during the 1960s. Many of the settlers in coastal Minaba had initially migrated to Tanjay from upland Cebu Island around 1940. While the entry of the newcomers was approved locally by the barangay captain of Minaba/Amio at the time, the first households to settle in the area played a crucial role in regulating settlement, and kinship and marriage relations were crucial for legitimating the entry of more newcomers. The barangay captain’s
family lived up by the highway and did not develop a close relationship with the coastal settlers.

The new subdivision plan of 1967 classified the land adjacent to the Tañon Strait as alienable and disposable\(^{43}\) and thus included the land where the former sugar cane workers from Cebu/Tanjay had settled, next to the fishpond. Another *hacendero* bought the five hectares of land next to the fishpond in the late 1960s. As with the lot in coastal Amio, the titleholder never used this land. It is some of his heirs who since the 1990s have sought to reclaim the land to sell the property to a third party for tourism development (see Chapter Seven). In 2006, about one hundred families lived on the lot. I will briefly mention a key reason for why so many people have settled onto this lot.

The land planted to sugar on Negros doubled in size between 1960 and 1970. When sugarcane production reached its peak in the 1970s, 580,000 hectares of the total land area of 1.3 million hectares were planted to sugarcane. But the industry was heading for trouble. The profitability of sugarcane production began to be squeezed after Marcos, having declared Martial Law in 1972, established a sugar monopoly with his cronies in 1974, skimming off the profit margins of planters and millers. The preferential treatment of Philippine sugar with the U.S. ended the same year. The crash in the world sugar market in 1976-1979 and 1983-1986 exacerbated the problem of plantation owners, as it led to prices “far below the Philippine cost of production” (McCoy 1991: 105). Several planters went bankrupt or had banks take over some of their landholdings.\(^{44}\) Sugar plantations closed down and many lost their jobs. The number of hectares planted to sugarcane dropped to 360,000 (Ombion 2005). Reports of massive unemployment and malnutrition on Negros Island reached international media. Displaced sugarcane

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\(^{43}\) The Commissioner of the Land Registration Commission had recommended to the Court of Firsts Instance, Branch II, Dumaguete City, to include the shoreline area as part of the subdivision plan.

\(^{44}\) Planter families who had already diversified into other sectors of the economy (coconut, fishpond, commercial fishing, banking and real estate) were able to hold on to much of their lands.
workers sought out new places to settle and ways to make a living. Many displaced plantation workers sought out new opportunities in the wider Dumaguete area and some were able to settle along the shoreline.

Another group of former sugarcane workers in Tanjay settled in coastal Minaba in 1976/77. This group had no close kin relationship to the previous settler group, but they had worked for the same haciendero. They drew on friendship or more peripheral kinship relations to ask permission to settle in the new place. They were only two or three households to begin with, but other family members have later followed. The closeness to Dumaguete City made coastal Sibulan attractive as a residential location for many in this settler group. By relocating closer to the city, they were basically coming to find new jobs, combining casual farming and urban sector jobs with gleaning, gathering milkfish fry and some fishing.

A third group of former cane workers settled in Amio in 1979. This was a family who migrated from upland Cebu around 1960 to work in sugarcane plantations on the southwestern coast of Negros Oriental (St. Catalina and Bayawan). They settled along the beach of Amio, in front of some rice fields and between members of a long-term settled family. As with the Minaba settlers: first one or two households obtained permission, and then relatives follow at a later stage. I discuss the settlement pattern in this area in more detail in Chapter Four.

To sum up this section, during the last decades of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, almost all land in Amio and Minaba was titled in the name of a few individuals (and one institution). In the rice and coconut fields of absentee titleholders, tenant farmers used extended kinship networks and marriage to secure labour. In Minaba, a member of an elite haciendero family was in charge of the supervision in the sugarcane fields and hired foremen to manage the labour process to grow and mill sugarcane. Most labour intensive tasks in sugarcane cultivation were done with the use of temporary workers who were brought in from other places.
To purchase land was beyond the means of the vast majority of the Negrense population. Many tenants and farm workers depended upon the permission of the landowners to stay on the land and were to some extent obliged to vote for the landowner’s political candidate. The larger landholdings of the provincial elites in the wider Dumaguete area were subdivided and sold during the 1950s and 1960s. Town-based merchants and business owners, professionals, government officials at municipal and provincial levels and other emerging middle-class segments of Negrense society bought titled lots for investment purposes, but the beach itself was not considered to have particular value at this time. It was members of long-term settled families and barangay officials who issued permission and regulated access for purposes of residence. It is a more systematic and detailed analysis of this ‘middling faction’ of tenant farmers, neighbourhood leaders and their families which is missing from the literature on the formation of coastal communities on Negros.

**Fishing villages: a residual effect of agrarian transformation**

Settlement onto the beach or closer to the shoreline is a relatively recent phenomenon in many areas of the Philippines. The broader pattern is clear: It was primarily landless groups and marginal peasants who settled close to the sea and turned to fishing as a main source of livelihood during the 20th century.\(^4\) Small-scale fishing and gleaning were activities that could be embarked upon without landownership or massive

\(^4\) It was during the twentieth century that fisher-farmers on Linungan Island in the southern Philippines, “with few exceptions,” became self-employed cash fishers (Randall 1977: 17). In Estancia, as commercial fishing outfits began to operate in the area, the settlement along the shoreline began in the 1890s and the town shifted from further inland to the coast (Szanton 1971: 24). In Dalaguete, southern Cebu, inhabitants gradually turned from corn cultivation to fishing to earn a living, beginning in the 1920s (Seki 2000: 135). Fishing communities along the east coast of Samal Island, outside Davao City, were established largely in the 1970s, both by migrants from Visayas and different groups of ‘natives’ (Mangahas 2001: 341). On Palawan, there was a large migrant population settling along the coasts over the last 50 years, in San Vicente, mostly after the early 1970s (Eder 2008: 33). In Batangas Bay, “rice and corn agriculture were as significant as fishing in the lives of local inhabitants,” but opportunities for work in agriculture have declined (Russell and Alexander 2000: 20).
investments (Yano 1994: 44). The same pattern has been observed elsewhere in South (Alexander 1995) and Southeast Asia.46

From the 1950s to the 1990s, there was rapid growth in the number of small-scale fishermen in Sibulan. Many coastal dwelling families in Sibulan had male members who had previously combined fishing and farming who specialised more in fishing during the 1950s and 1960s (see Chapter Three). As elsewhere in the province of Negros Oriental, many families settled on unclaimed land along the shores (Walters 2003: 299).47 A map from 1954 shows that in Amio, Minaba and Talak, few houses were located on or next to the beach. In Dumaguete City, however, many more houses were located along the shoreline in the mid-1950s, reflecting development of urban space, increased competition for and price of land and growth of a casual labour force combining fishing with jobs in the City.48 It was only in the mid-1970s that several households transferred onto the beach in Amio. Between the 1940s and the mid-1970s, there were only two houses on the beach of Amio. In general, to live on land titled by

46 Speaking of the wider Southeast Asian region, Anthony Reid argues that until the 20th century, coastlines were sparsely settled. The exception was Java, where the coastline was settled a century earlier (Li 2001: 45, referring to Reid 1997). Firth was perhaps the first anthropologist to describe this phenomenon in Southeast Asia, in his book “Malay Fishermen” (Firth 1946: 65). The process that led to specialisation in fishing and settlement close to the shoreline, the process through which “the life of the fishermen became more completely divorced from agriculture, and many of them came to live near the beach, with the sea as the almost sole source of their income, cultivating no rice, and in some cases owning no land” (1946: 67), was seen by Firth to have been going on for centuries. Paul Alexander, in “Sri Lankan fishermen” (1994), notices a similar pattern, but emphasises more a rapid transformation of landownership and use during the second half of the nineteenth century, as export agriculture expanded and colonial policies and practices facilitated concentration of landownership. Paddy fields were increasingly planted with tree crops. What had been fields providing subsistence cultivation for numerous peasants became “one man’s coconut plantation” (Alexander 1995: 180). As a consequence, many peasant fisher-farmers specialised more in fishing and settled on the beach.

In the Visayas, coastal towns and villages were raided by people linked to Sulu sultanates in the southern Philippines until the mid-nineteenth century. This may have been another factor in the reluctance to have one's settlement exposed to view from the sea.


48 The population of Negros Oriental reached 100,000 in the 1890s and passed the one million mark in the mid-1990s. In 1948, Sibulan had an estimated population of 8,096. By 2000, the number of people living in the municipality was estimated to be 37,523 (about half living in the six coastal barangays).
others had so far not been a serious problem in terms of residential security. As tenants, the expectation was that they had a right to build their own houses on the property of the landowner. One main reason why many households relocated onto the beach and other unclaimed lands along the shoreline in the mid-1970s was that the land they lived on was subdivided, sold and in some areas reclassified as residential land. In addition to fishing and gleaning, they appropriated beach space for housing and various other livelihood activities, such as sari-sari (mixed goods) store, coconut trees, cottage rental and small-scale piggeries. As mentioned above, when the sugarcane industry went into a deep recession in the second half of the 1970s and early 80s, former sugarcane workers from other areas of the province also settled on available land along the shore in Amio and Minaba.

Few of the people who settled close to the shore established formal title to these lands. There are several reasons for why most coastal dwellers had no formal title to the land they lived on. For early settlers on the beach, there was no perceived need to have house lots titled. Many have at some stage registered with the municipal assessor’s office and pay land tax, or they claim to live on land that is part of a ‘mother title’ (occupational rights through inheritance). Through long-term possession, they see themselves as being entitled to decide on the use of the land. Some claim to live on ‘government land’ since the land along the shore is not supposed to be privately owned. Finally, much of the land along the coast was already titled when people settled close to the sea. I will have much more to say on the topic of land claims and conflict in Chapter Seven.
Figure 2.1: Settlement history in Amio

The rather complex history of settlement along the beach of Amio does not fit neatly into one map. There are more settler groups within the 700 meter stretch of the beach depicted here, and marriages have taken place between members of some of them (see Chapter Four). There have also been migrant fishers who have stayed in the area during the main fishing season (see Chapter Three). Today, there are also middle-class urbanites who commute to work in Dumaguete City and, as I will discuss in Chapter Six, rich newcomers who have bought beachfront properties and built seawalls and houses for ocean view residence, vacation and beach business.

What the history does suggest is that there may have been a relatively loosely structured community of 'locals' to begin with, while some absentee landowners managed to buy, control and reclassify lands to suit their own interests. In this context, a thorough history of landownership and use, including details on kinship and residence relations, is needed to begin to understand the mechanisms affecting the distribution in access to and control of various coastal resources and who are able to obtain some degree of tenure security despite living on a highly contested stretch of the shoreline. I will briefly
mention one family group’s background and history of living in Amio. The same family group will be referred to throughout the thesis as an example of people who have been able to ‘become local’ in a new place.

Figure 2.2: Kinship chart of the Oloriz/Parena family
The double-line separates the families (Placida and Zarina are part of the same generation). Grey colour refers to people who were deceased, green colour lived in Amio and white colour lived elsewhere in 2005-2006. Note also that Anton Parena was first married to Zarina, and then to her sister, Myrna.

The Oloriz family moves to Amio

Antonio Oloriz from Dauin, thirty kilometres south of Sibulan, moved to Amio in 1936 to work as a tenant farmer for a provincial elite hacendero. He was responsible for the cultivation of rice on about four hectares of land.49 Antonio was married with Graciana Dalope from Dumaguete. Antonio convinced his brother, Amadio, who was married to Graciana’s sister, Aurelia, to move to Amio. The oldest daughter of Antonio Oloriz, Zarina, had married Anton Parena prior to this, around 1934. The Parenas are considered to be one of the original families to settle in Amio, but did not own land at this time. Amadio’s oldest daughter, Placida Oloriz, married into a long-term settled family in coastal Talak in the early 1930s.

49 Rice cultivation was rain fed and the tenancy contract was for fixed rent. Planting took place between June and August and harvest in November and December.
During the late 1930s and early 1940s, more of the children of Amadio and Aurelia and Antonio and Graciana married into families in coastal Sibulan. Daniel married Gabriella Caballero from Amio. Another son, Jun, married Estrella Buazon from barangay Tubtubon, Sibulan. Danilo married Ariana Calumpong, a member another family with 'original' settler status in coastal Amio.\(^5\) Arnold married Olivia from Talak. They all settled in Amio. Despite being a newcomer to Amio, Antonio Oloriz was thus able to rely on a wide kinship network to secure labour to work in the fields. Beyond the question of labour, what seems to have happened here is that the Oloriz’s entered into a new place as a group, drawing both on a tenancy contract with an absentee landowner and provincial elite, but also on daughters and sons marrying into local families in large numbers within a relatively short period of time.

Being Cebuano-speaking fisher-farmers in the municipality of Dauin, the Olorizs had much in common with the families they married into and lived next to in Sibulan. The Olorizs brought with them knowledge of fishing, boat building, gleaning, mat and basket weaving and fish trading to Amio. Although working as farmers and fishers, Antonio and Amadio were part of a relatively prominent family in Dauin at this time, one which held mayorship for almost three decades during American rule. In Amio, however, despite being well-connected, Antonio was not in a position to act as a local leader. I will elaborate on the requirements to become a neighbourhood leader in Chapter Four. Anton Parena, however, took over the tenancy contract of his father-in-law after the Second World War and became the deputy of the barangay captain of Minaba (Amio was part of barangay Minaba until 1960) in the 1950s. Anton was in charge of handling disputes and providing services in the coastal area. Anton held a tenancy contract over about three hectares of rice fields at this time. He combined farming with fishing and his role as a neighbourhood leader. The tenancy contract was later inherited by Anton’s second son, Danilo.

**Talak 1890 – 1950**

In Talak, there is a different history of land ownership and use, with more long-term settled families holding on to their agricultural fields as rice farming owner-operators for a longer time than in Amio and Minaba. Although Talak was a subunit within the barangay of Minaba until the 1950s, no sugar plantations were established in this area and absentee landowners did not hold title to the majority of the land. The settlements in coastal Amio and Minaba were smaller and more spread out than in coastal Talak.

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\(^5\) Ariana’s father’s father’s wife was Benita Oloriz. Benita, a cousin (*ig-agaw ug tagutlo* or 3rd cousin) of Antonio, married Domingo Calumpong in the late 1920s.
Minaba River may have been used as a source for rice farming in areas of Talak and 'upper' Minaba going back a long time, judging from the settlement patterns on the map, which shows larger house clusters along the river, largely on the northern side into Talak. In southern and coastal areas of Minaba and in Amio, the water supply was not as good and the soil is sandy up by the highway.

Whatever the exact situation was, the families in Talak were less willing to give up their lands for cash, gifts or the offer of paid jobs as foreman or overseers, tenure contracts, and the like. They look to have had less demand for outside patrons, or may have had a stronger commitment and ability to prevent outsiders from buying land. The relationship between local leaders and the other residents of the place at the time suggests the existence of a relatively stable, multi-generational community able to restrict the bargaining position of 'would-be-patrons.' Migrant labourers from elsewhere have not settled in large numbers in coastal Talak. In Minaba and Amio, absentee landowners organised the entry of newcomers. This was not the case in Talak. However, even among long-term settled families within Talak, some settled before others. Early settlers probably took up the best land for rice cultivation and had access to more agricultural lands. They constituted larger families and had better political connections in barangay and municipal level politics. The land in Talak was subject of a cadastral survey between 1918 and 1920. According to my informants, private title of the land all the way down to the sea was issued in the 1890s (Spanish _titulo_). Although the distribution of landownership was far from even, several local families obtained formal title. Many of those who owned no land were themselves from long-term settled families and were able to obtain share tenure contracts and work in the fields.

By the 1930s, some family groups had expanded their landholdings while other landowners had to sell some of their land. With generally large families, many landowners had to divide fields into smaller units and parents had less land to give children in inheritance or at weddings. To avoid parcelisation of agricultural fields, however, some siblings (all of whom are entitled to an equal share) opted to rotate the
land amongst them. Some received their part on a crop-share basis. In the 1930s, one
long-term resident family owned five hectares of rice fields which were later divided
equally amongst five heirs and rented out to other Talak families. In several cases, the
tenancy contracts were kept within the family. The tenancy contracts have almost
always been passed on to sons and grandsons and not to daughters. This pattern may
reflect an ideology of virilocality (see Chapter Four).

**Talak 1950s - 1970s**

In the 1950s, several landowners pawned their cultivation rights and property for cash
(*prenda*), some to pay for tuition fees for their children’s education. In a *prenda*
contract, the owner of the land receives a sum of money from a lender, but instead of
interest payments, the possession and use of the property is transferred to the money
lender for a specified time period (Pal and Polson 1973: 141). Investment in land and in
*prenda* contracts were considered lucrative by wealthy town dwellers. Investors were
typically persons who did not expect to derive their major income from raising crops
(ibid.: p. 147). In the wider Dumaguete area in 1966, 25 per cent of farm owners had
‘*prenda*’ their lands. The contract was referred to as a ‘deed of right to repurchase
property’ to circumvent usury laws.51

Some siblings sold land to town dwelling business owners and investors. The Chan
family, the largest dried fish dealer in Dumaguete, were able to buy 7 hectares of land in
Talak in the 1960s. Some of the landowners who sold rice fields became urbanites
themselves, taking up other lines of business, investing in higher education and overseas
migration for some of their children and, seen from a barangay perspective, separated
themselves more completely from their rural kin. Others entered into politics. A few of
the municipal councillors came from long-term settled, economically better-off

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51 Land covered by a *prenda* contract tended to be cultivated by *porsiyentuhan* labourers who took over
responsibility for preparing the land and paid for agricultural inputs in exchange of half of the harvest.
They were usually hired for one or two crop season.
landowning families in Talak. Landownership clearly had high social status and some local landowners were able to increase their landholdings.

A few long-term settled families have continued to own rice fields, live in the area and still draw on kin during planting and harvesting, although the fields cultivated along these lines are getting smaller and smaller. As was the case in Amio and Minaba for most of the 20th century, since the 1960s and 1970s it became more common also in Talak for fields to be owned by absentee owners. Government officials, professionals and other members of the 'middle-classes' invested in land, which is considered a safe investment object with good return. The process of agrarian transformation in Talak resembles patterns described in other rice cultivating areas of the Philippines (Fegan 1979; Eder 1982; Kerkvliet 1990; Eder 1993; Eder 1999). With state-sponsored irrigation programs, ‘green-revolution’ technologies and growing dependence on credit to purchase fertiliser and other inputs, wealthier farm owners and tenants no longer relied on share harvesters52 and long-term settled families with kinship relations to landowners experienced declining return from work in the rice fields. In the 1960s and early 1970s, one fisher-farmer with close family ties to a landowner and municipal politicians received one share for every three to four shares harvested. In 2006, the share was one for every six or seven harvested. Migrant labourers were given a smaller share for their work (1/8 or 1/9). Most landless families in coastal Talak are today compensated with a wage per day or have the choice of being paid the equivalent in unhusked rice. For many coastal dwellers in Talak, rice farming has been a sideline activity, an extra source of sustenance and not the main source of livelihood among the majority of households during the second half of the 20th century.

52 Many tenants were replaced with wage labourers in rice growing areas of the Philippines in the 1950s and the 1960s. Landowners frequently argued that the use of temporary workers was necessary to reduce the cost of production or improve efficiency, and that they have “a right to use the property as they desired” (Kerkvliet 2002: 117). In 1971, based on fieldwork in San Jose, Palawan, Eder observed that poorer farmers sometimes lacked the cash to hire help and were also faced with a strong cultural expectation to help other poor farmers to harvest on a share basis: “ironically, share harvesting is a generosity the better-off farmers feel they cannot afford” (1982: 126-127).
Many of those who settled along the shoreline had initially had a practical or livelihood interest in the place, combining fishing and farming. However, while the beachfront had occupational importance to those who relied in various ways and to different extent on marine resources to sustain themselves, it was not regarded by localised populations as an especially valued residential location, not even among ‘fisher folk.’ Given ‘fisher folks’ occupational attachment to the sea but residential preference for having their houses less exposed to big waves and strong winds, they preferred to live on lands removed from the beach, frequently in smaller kin-based clusters next to agricultural fields. Also in Talak, landpoor and landless families settled closer to the shoreline during the 1960s and 1970s, but seldom on the beach itself. When a small road was constructed along the coastline in the 1970s, the coastal dwellers of Talak preferred to have their houses on the other side of the road from the beach. They established house groups of extended families and few ‘outsiders’ settled amongst them. In Chapter Four, I will elaborate on the theme of kin-based house groups and broader ‘clan’-like formations.

Conclusion

The studies of rural social change on Negros Island have either ignored or not noticed the prevalence of coastal settlements of fisher-farmers. By including the land facing the sea and the marine environments in the study of rural change, and thus not limit the discussion to agrarian relations, new space is created for studying the kinds of social formations that have taken shape in many coastal locations in the Philippines.

Planter-elites played an important role in forging change in Amio and Minaba. But it might also be necessary to see considerable more autonomy in the way many people have constructed their lives and associate with place than what is suggested by authors who focus on the way ‘external’ forces and governing elite interests shape local communities. Despite pointing out that there was a wide range of local and regional specificities to the overall process in the Philippines, on Negros Island, McCoy argues
that traditional production systems were totally replaced by a capitalist production regime relying on rural wage labour (1982: 8). Large-scale production regimes displaced small-scale, family organised production and trading systems. This has happened in many areas, and perhaps to a greater extent in Negros Occidental than in Negros Oriental. In terms of landownership concentration, the pattern looks to have been highly skewed in both provinces, with ‘sugar barons’ obtaining title to vast tracts of land. The structure of unequal distribution of land and political-economic power that came with ‘sugarlandia’ brought about massive changes. The emergence of a sugar planter elite involved in extracting economic value, political power and prestige through export agriculture and patronage created the foundation for a highly stratified social formation. The expansion of cash-crop production and an increasing concentration of land, capital and, with U.S. colonial rule, the apparatus of the state in the hands of elite plantation and mill owners did have an influence on labour relations, concepts of ownership, migration and settlement patterns, and community formation. It was landless residents and migrant newcomers who first settled onto the beach. At the same time, although the plantations dominated the agricultural landscape on Negros Island and parts of Sibulan, and people had jobs as resident workers and seasonal labourers for *hacenderos*, these were to many coastal dwellers ‘marginal’ to the way they looked at themselves and made a living. Many did work on plantations occasionally, as a seasonal source of income. Some had tenancy contracts with absentee landowners. In addition, many coastal dwellers combined fishing, gleaning, farming, animal husbandry, home industries and trading activities. Family-organised, place-based and to varying degrees natural resource dependent livelihoods expanded together with growth of more permanent state institutions and hierarchical agrarian relations. Outside of coastal towns and cities throughout the Philippines, a somewhat similar set of processes of coastal community formation occurred.

While suggesting that the Sibulan material supports findings of coastal settlement formation in studies elsewhere in the Philippines and the wider world, I have also shown that there are significant differences in the histories of land use and tenure within
the four kilometres of the coastline covered in this study. In some locations within the field site, there have been settlements for a longer period of time, especially along rivers where the land looks to have been better suited for rice cultivation. In other areas, new settlements took shape next to plantations and mills, bringing together different categories of people from different places. In Amio and Minaba, two 'regional notables' or 'sugar barons' were able to obtain title to vast tracts of land around the turn of the twentieth century and establish plantations. It was expected that workers could establish houses and small gardens next to the fields of the landowners. When the rate of buying and selling of lands increased during the second half of the twentieth century and subdivision plans were approved, displacement pressure increased. Former sugarcane and rice field workers became irrelevant to title holders and were seen as a hindrance to development of the area. In addition, there was a difference between the newcomers – between the Olorizs and the former sugarcane workers – in terms of their ability to become recognised as locals and full members of wider neighbourhood associations, a difference to which I will devote much more attention in the following chapters of the dissertation. In Talak, large-scale plantations were never established and the rice fields and other lands were owned by long-term settled families. The long-term settled rice farmers held on to their land for much longer and there were fewer migrant workers settling in Talak. There looks to have been a stronger cohort of locals and closer family links between landowners, fieldworkers and coastal dwellers. Those who settled close to the shoreline in Talak came largely from families with a solid status as 'locals.' At the same time, the process of formation of settlements closer to the shoreline was similar: It was landless and landpoor family groups who settled close to the sea and specialised more in fishing during the second half of the twentieth century. Among these families, I will show in the next two chapters, powerful figures of informal authority have emerged within coastal neighbourhoods. These figures rely on long-term settler status, kin-based mechanisms, livelihood skills and wider social networks to establish themselves in and influence developments in these neighbourhoods. Also in coastal Minaba, the first caretaker family of the fishpond played a key role in structuring settlement patterns. Although their initial entrance was brokered by a barangay captain and an elite absentee
landowner, the building up of a larger family group was their own making. These coastal settlements are not some ancient social form, but have taken shape in the modern era, amidst rapid expansion of export agriculture and increased cosmopolitan influences in the coastal zone.

In Chapter Three, I will show that there was rapid increase in small-scale fishing during the second half of the 20th century among coastal dwellers in Sibulan. The re-orientation to fishing took different paths linked to the history of land tenure, occupation and settlement outlined in this chapter.
Chapter Three: Rising significance of small-scale fishing

As in the literature on agrarian transformation on Negros Island, in some very influential studies of fishing communities, there has been a tendency to assume a strong, underlying process of proletarianisation, with capitalised fleets predicted to take over and severely marginalise smaller-scale modes of fishing (Firth 1966; Alexander 1995). In the first section of this chapter, I will describe some of these larger-scale marine operations and re-visit the argument of Raymond Firth, Paul Alexander and others who predict the end of small-scale fishing, and then go on to present an alternative approach, one which acknowledges that smaller-scale modes of fishing have thrived under conditions of modernity. Apart from just expanding in terms of number of people involved in these activities, I will show that small-scale fishing and the exchange relationships most closely associated with these helped open up new ways of constructing coastal community relations, led to a stronger identification as mananagat (fisherman) and allowed new brokers and leaders to emerge among the coastal dwelling populations.

Small-scale fishing is, however, diverse and has changed over time. Fishermen are faced with different constraints and opportunities, and have different levels of commitment to fishing. I look at different ‘modes’ of smaller-scale fishing practised by coastal dwellers in Sibulan to show some key facets of their patterns of marine resource use and the distinctions between them. The history of settlement and coastal community formation outlined in Chapter Two, and the early-settler/newcomer distinction which comes out of that history, provide crucial data for understanding the kind of fishing different categories of coastal dwellers were likely to practise. Information on changes in these modes and the distinctions between different categories of fishermen illustrate how place-based community and kinship links to the ‘original people of the place’ have taken on new significance in recent times, as competition for resources have intensified in the coastal zone.
Today the most commonly cited reason why small-scale fishing is declining and nearing its end as a viable livelihood option is overfishing and environmental degradation. In the last section of this chapter, I show that while fish catch is much lower today than a few decades ago, fishing nevertheless remains important in terms of livelihood for many, and continues to provide an important source of status and identity for some.

In this chapter, focus will largely be on different economic ‘modes’ of fishing. In Chapter Four and Eight, I will have a fuller discussion of status and leadership associated with fishing.

**Large-scale fishing in the region: Some examples**

In marine resource extraction and trade there are long histories of structurally unequal ownership. As in agriculture, local and provincial elites and others with capital and political status have throughout the 20th century invested in capital intensive operations. Some emerged as large-scale traders of marine product. They established patron/client, employer/employee and buyer/seller relations of various kinds as development ideologies, ecological conditions, markets, technologies and ownership structures altered. In Negros Oriental, common investments were in large fish corrals, ponds for aquaculture and purse seiners. A local strongman at the southern tip of Cebu Island organised *muro-ami* (large bag net) fishing trips to Palawan, a highly labour intensive form of fishing which many young men from Sibulan took part in.

Fish corrals (*bungsods*) feature in folklore about the first inhabitants of Negros (Hart 1956: 32). When the Spanish arrived, they noted the many different types of fish corrals

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53 In the Southern Philippines, Chinese pearl traders have relied on local divers for several centuries. When U.S. colonial rule was established, there was a rapid expansion in exports of pearl, trochus and turtle shells from the ports of Zamboanga and Jolo (Randall 1977: 13). The buyers of these marine products were mostly Japanese and American businesses. All of these products were eventually more or less depleted by over-harvesting.
used in Panay, Negros and Cebu (Hart 1956: 33; Yano 1994: 40). Village leaders are likely to have had some control and ownership claims to fish corrals in earlier times, as the construction of them is labour intensive. During the first decades of the twentieth century, larger and deeper-placed *bungsods* were common investments by town and provincial elites.\(^{54}\) Absentee owners would subcontract the job of building and managing the corrals to a local family. Fish corrals continued to be built in Sibulan until the 1970s, but after the Second World War, gill net, purse seine and trawl fisheries gradually replaced fish corrals as the dominant, larger-scale methods of fishing. Owners of large-scale fishing boats and fleets were often also landowners (Blanc-Szanton 1991: 85). Not many fishermen from Amio, Minaba and Talak have worked on commercial purse seiners and trawlers, partly because there is no landing site in the area.\(^{55}\)

In the Philippines, since the Second World War, aquaculture has been actively promoted to speed up national economic growth, supply protein and employ people. The view that economic development could take place by expanding aquaculture (fishponds) quickly became entrenched, also among anthropologists: “Since fishponds give the largest return, by value, of fish produced in the Philippines, it is hoped more ponds will be developed in southern Negros” (Hart 1956: 31). With few exceptions, U.S. researchers promoted continued expansion of aquaculture until the 1980s.\(^{56}\) Acheson gave the following justification for why fishpond production looked promising: “aquaculture

\(^{54}\) For a description of *bung sod* fishing in southern Negros in 1950, see Don V. Hart (1956: 32-57).

\(^{55}\) Among Sibulan fishermen, during the time of fieldwork, there was strong opposition to purse seiners operating within municipal waters (15 km. from the shoreline into the sea). Commercial fishing in municipal waters is illegal by national law. Many fishermen in Sibulan were in direct competition with purse seiners, locally known as *kubkobs*. They competed for herrings, scads, mackerels and small tunas. On average, of the fishermen included in this research, more than 50% of the fish caught by hook-and-liners were the same pelagic species caught by the *kubkobs*. In Chapter Eight, I will show how some fishermen organise and protest against *kub kob* fishing and some other practises they see as threatening their livelihoods.

\(^{56}\) Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner expressed scepticism towards the expansion of fishponds. She found that locals in ‘Hulo’ did not benefit from the development of fishponds owned by outsiders (1963: 20-21). Fishermen protested against the illegal diking of rivers and river mouths, as these were important fishing grounds for many residents at the time. The local fishermen argued that these areas were part of the public domain (ibid.: 22).
holds forth some promise as a means to increase the supply of protein and to increase the employment of fishermen” (1981: 306).

The area devoted to brackish water ponds in the Philippines nearly doubled between 1950 and 1960 and is estimated to have covered 123,000 hectares in 1960. Except for a boom in prawn ponds in the 1980s, there has been a marked decrease in the development of new ponds, some of the causes being a reduction in government incentives, increased costs of developing new areas and an increase in pro-conservation policies (Walters 2003: 300). Mangrove forests can be extremely productive habitats and have historically been utilized by coastal dwellers and others for subsistence food, building material and firewood. In Amio/Minaba, in the mid-1950s, 11 hectares of mangroves were cleared to make a fishpond. Old residents told me that the area where the pond was established used to have big mangrove trees. The pond has not created much employment locally. Only two households located in Minaba have at some stage been involved as caretakers. During fieldwork, caretakers were brought in from elsewhere, organized by the absentee owner of the pond.

*Muro-ami* fishing, a large-scale, labour intensive fishing operation with bag nets over coral reefs, however, provided key employment.57 I was struck by the large number of fishermen in Sibulan who had been on *muro-ami* fishing when they were young. They had worked for a former congressman in southern Cebu who owned a large *muro-ami* fishing fleet. The *muro-ami* fishing operations were organised by the Abines family58

57 Fishermen from Okinawa, Japan, brought the *sagiwsiw* (or *hinapon*) technique to the Philippines in the 1920s. *Sagiwsiw* was the forerunner to the larger-scale *muro-ami* version (Olofson, Canizares et al. 2000: 339). *Muro-ami* consists of a bag net with long ‘wings’ and a large number of swimmers and divers who drive fish into the net. Swimmers use vertical scare lines weighed down by stones (4 to 5 kg. each) which they pull up and down, dropping the stones onto hard corals as they move towards the bag net. The disturbance at the sea bottom drives schooling and bottom-dwelling fish from their hiding places towards the bag net. The net is set by divers, sometimes down to 80 feet below the surface (Sidel 118-119).

58 Crisologo Abines, former Mayor of Santander, Cebu, and Congressman from 1987 to 1996, was in a partnership with a Manila-based family (the Frabal Corporation). Members of the Abines family occupied key government positions. This looks to have been a requirement to be able to successfully run
and Frabal Fishing and Ice Plant Corporation. Former congressman Abines recruited more than seven thousand boys and young men from Southern Cebu, Negros and Siquijor for his *muro-ami* fleet of 30 ships (Sidel 1999: 119). Fishermen from Sibulan went on these trips from the second half of the 1960s until 1998, each trip lasting ten months. Socio-economic status influenced who went on *muro-ami* fishing trips. Kin-relations to recruiters and the level of indebtedness of parents would put pressure on young men to go on these trips. Except for a few households who had a close relationship to a labour recruiter working for Abines and were able to get somewhat better-paying positions, poorer, more cash-strapped households had more sons going on several *muro-ami* trips. Those who owned more fishing gear and boats, were more educated, had access to other productive resources or were less indebted were less likely to go on *muro-ami* trips. Some households sent sons who were as young as thirteen.

In securing labour, the Abines canteen, located in Oslob town, just across the Tañon Strait from Sibulan, offered monthly rice and corn to the young fishermen’s families (credit-in-kind), along with one sack of pellets for raising hogs. The products in the Abines store were allegedly sold at an above market rate and the total sum taken out of the store was deducted from the fishermen’s gross income (Sidel 1999: 120). The fishermen had little control over their net income, as they were paid only upon return back home. The timing of the fishermen’s return to southern Cebu frequently coincided with a local town fiesta. Many of the returning *muro-ami* fishermen went to Abines’ cockfighting arena to spend money they had earned. By extending credit to the fishermen’s families, they would be more likely to sign up for another ten-month trip. Olofson et. al. refers to the arrangement as “credit bondage” (Olofson, Canizares et al.)

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the *muro-ami* fleet. John T. Sidel writes: “With the 2nd district congressional seat, the vice-governorship and two town mayorships in family hands, the Abineses have also enjoyed considerable discretion over the flow of state patronage into southern Cebu...” (Sidel 1999: 122). Sidel uses the Abines family as an example of how ‘bossism’ operates in the Philippines. This has been termed the “elite democracy”-model of Philippine politics, authors who highlight how elite families are able to get their way by manipulating democratic procedures, control and use state resources for private gain and rely on coercion, intimidation, bribery and other methods to succeed in this (Kerkvliet 1995).
2000: 326), a mechanism of securing labour that resembles the labour tying during the period of rapid expansion of sugarcane plantations on Negros.

Fishermen from Sibulan have had somewhat different experiences of *muro-ami* fishing. George Oloriz, who I will introduce shortly, went on only one *muro-ami* expedition, in 1971. He found it to be hard work, cold at night and the money he earned, 3,500 pesos for ten months of work, was less than he had expected. George's brother Andres, however, had been on seven ten-month *muro-ami* trips and said the work was alright, although the pay was lower than he had hoped for. Armando Polido from Talak went *muro-ami* fishing from 1980 to 1983, three trips each lasting ten months. He was a guard and a diver. He said he liked the experience, but also said that when he was sick it was very difficult. He suffered from stomach pain and fever. The days he did not work, he got a salary deduction.

*Muro-ami* fishing was formally banned in December 1989. Political opponents of Abines, labour rights advocates and marine biologists began in the 1980s to campaign together to ban *muro-ami* fishing. The use of child labour, credit-bondage in recruitment and payment, no social security benefits, 10-15 hour work days and high risk to the life and health of the divers and swimmers, along with the destructive impact on coral reefs, were arguments with which Abines had to contend (Sidel 1999: 119). With the assistance of the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources, Frabal developed 'new muro-ami,' using pressure hoses instead of rocks. While 'new muro-ami' was shown to do similar damage to the coral reefs, Abines was able to continue with the business. The last *muro-ami* fishing expedition that involved informants in this study was in 1998, the same year the Philippine Fisheries Code banned the 'new muro-ami' technique. With mounting pressure from diverse groups, rapidly declining availability of coral reef fish and loss of political power, the *muro-ami* business of Abines is today dramatically scaled down.
These examples illustrate some of the ways in which coastal dwellers in Sibulan have been involved in and affected by large-scale fishing operations. The history of enclosure, displacement and rural institutional transformation linked to the emergence of export agriculture and capitalist relations of production has, no doubt, been painful to large segments of the rural population on Negros and surrounding islands. In Negros Oriental, proletarianisation in sugarcane plantations and commercial fishing happened a long time ago. Absentee ownership and capitalist relations of production have been widespread throughout the 20th century. The examples given here also show that there has been considerable change over time in coastal and marine resource extraction practices. Some scholars have interpreted the main pattern of change as one which is moving from small-scale, kin and community organised operations to one which is large-scale, hierarchical and impersonal. These larger-scale capitalist modes will necessarily displace or severely marginalise smaller-scale, place-based and household organised modes. I will briefly revisit the arguments of Raymond Firth (1946), Paul Alexander (1995), David L. Szanton (1971) and Kalpana Ram (1991) to establish my own position in relation to theirs.

**Proletarianisation versus persistence or resistance**

At least since Raymond Firth’s “Malay Fishermen” (Firth 1946), social scientists and policy makers have helped popularise the view that there is little future for small-scale or artisanal fishing. Based on fieldwork seventy years ago, Firth found that increased capitalisation and expansion of commercial fisheries would displace the peasant mode and proletarianise fishers. He noticed a rise in an entrepreneurial class of fishermen,

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59 Firth’s overall motivation for conducting this research was to provide a better understanding of the actual workings of the peasant fishing industry so that policies aimed at improving economic conditions could become more effective in supporting a vibrant and viable peasant economy. Earlier studies had focused narrowly on the technology used by small-scale fishers. Firth looked at a range of interlinked factors to understand the fishing economy of his field sites in Malaysia. He described the history of settlement along the coast and mapped a range of demographic and occupational characteristics. He inquired about the type of fish and gear used in the old days, documented changes in technologies of fishing over time, division of labour, the extent of market exchange, the preparation of fish products (dried, cooked), fish dealers, what towns fish were brought to, the effects of roads and buses, changes in the method of distribution, as well as fishing in relation to other occupations. It is an impressive piece of
absentee ownership of mechanised boats, new consumption practices among the newly rich, extension of communications and integration of markets, more capital intensive production techniques, division of labour with specialised skills, and changed organisation of production. As the peasant community was being integrated much more fully into the national economy of the State, the future of small-scale, owner-operated fishing looked bleak (1946: 67). While Firth also describes flexible movement in and out of artisanal fishing, one where fishermen utilised seasonal and other kinds of variations in the fishing sector, he interprets this phenomenon as being transitional. Based on fieldwork in Sri Lanka, a similar argument is presented by Paul Alexander. According to Alexander, in the mid-nineteenth century, his field site in southern Sri Lanka, ‘Gahavalla,’ consisted of “a small self-sufficient settlement of farmers and part-time fishermen,” where “the economic logic governing the fisheries was production for use.” This was a time when the “household’s primary aim was to secure its subsistence needs. For most households this involved a mix of occupations, including agriculture and cottage industries as well as fishing, and a mix of market and non-market transactions” (Alexander 1995: 171). In 1971, however, “fishing provided the sole livelihood of almost all villagers and although many men still fished with their own gear, labour had become a commodity and complete capitalist control of the means of production seemed inevitable” (Alexander 1995: 4-5). The interests of regional, national and international actors take precedence over, subordinate and dictate “the logic of village production” (1995: 1). As a result, disparities increase. There are a growing number of “middle-peasants” who are forced to mortgage or sell their assets, thus becoming proletarianised and poor (Alexander 1995: 37).60

work. My criticism is of the interpretation of the value of small-scale fishing and the broad assumption of its decline and replacement by larger-scale modes.

60 Alexander predicts that the fisher folks would “almost certainly” be “unsuccessful to retain the fishing gear on which their livelihood and their dignity depend” (1995: 5).
To Alexander, the major ethnographic challenge was to understand “why the inhabitants of Gahavalla feel that there is no solution to their predicaments” (Alexander 1995: 3). This representation of local predicaments may reflect the specific experience of fishers involved in the beach seine industry, but I find it difficult to believe inhabitants of Gahavalla all felt there was “no solution to their predicaments.” When the beach seine industry is analysed in separation from the livelihood conditions of households and settler groups, this description of transformation in work relations may be true, with a more hierarchical and impersonal form of labour management coming into place. And while misfortunes, such as a poor fishing season, a serious health problem or a court case, can lead to loss of ownership of the means of production (Alexander 1995: 57), this loss, I suggest, does not have to be permanent. Small outrigger canoes and other equipment are also bought by people who have been labourers for shorter or longer periods of time. Young men who went muro-ami fishing saved up money to buy their own boats.61

The proletarianisation paradigm has had considerable influence on the study of fishing communities and may have prevented researchers from looking for alternative interpretations of the significance of smaller-scale modes of fishing. In a very comprehensive study of a fishing community in ‘transition’ on the Visayan island of Panay, even David L. Szanton, who documents that small-scale or what he calls “subsistence fishing” expanded alongside growth in capitalised fleets, holds on to the dominant paradigm. He constructs small-scale fishing to be a “traditional working and living arrangement” which has “not yet given way” to the dominant mode (1971: 36-37, 50).

61 In debates surrounding the question of persistence of family or peasant farming versus proletarianisation, Eder usefully points out that it is necessary to be more specific about what or who persists (1993: 652). It is problematic to assume that proletarianisation is “mutually exclusive with the persistence of peasant farming” (p. 648). The concept of “semi-proletarianisation” can be highly misleading, argues Eder: part-time farming – or fishing – may not be ‘transitional’ at all (ibid.: 651). Such diversification of household income can help farming households prosper. Eder finds it safer to say that “the local dynamics of agrarian change and differentiation are immensely variable, reflecting often unique combinations of complex and even conflicting processes” (1999: 9, citing White 1989: 28).
While the subsistence and other livelihood activities of the self-employed seem marginal to the dominant mode of production and the formal sector of the economy, there is clearly more to be said on their importance. In the literature mentioned here, the kinds of skills and knowledge required to be a successful fisherman, along with questions of identification and commitment to fishing, have been left aside. Another interpretation, while not ignoring the important links between agrarian social transformation, landlessness and the formation of coastal settlements, is to see specialisation in small-scale fishing as a kind of ‘freeing’ from dependence on personalised patron-client ties, debt bondage and servitude to landlords. In a study of the fishing community of Mukkuvar, Southern India, Kalpana Ram follows this line of argument (1991). She shows that despite increasing mechanisation and export orientation of the fishing industry, as well as declining fish catch, “the fisherpeople have showed a stubborn tendency to persist and even proliferate their artisanal craft and gear” (ibid.: 136). Global exposure has encouraged and led to a reinterpretation of the significance of “‘old’ forms of work” (ibid.: 137). Hook-and-line fishing has remained prestigious because of the “high degree of skill and knowledge called for on the part of the individual fisherman” (ibid.: 26). Compared to the dominant Hindu model of agrarian society, Ram argues, the Mukkuvars, drawing on their own experiences, distinguish themselves from the hierarchy of caste. The relations of production in fishing with small outrigger canoes are different from those in agriculture: “For a polluted caste to represent itself as brave, innovative and adaptable to change, capable of cunning in response to challenges on sea and land, is a statement of resistance” (ibid.). Ram argues that capitalist forms of production do not simply displace pre-existing social formations, but establishes “complicit relations with pre-capitalist relations of labour utilisation and exploitation, propping them up and even accentuating them in the process” (ibid.: 235). Although Ram holds on to an assumption of a strong underlying process of proletarianisation, her interpretation of the importance of small-scale fishing is useful for the material I work with and try to understand. I will,
however, not see small-scale fishing as a pre-modern activity, and also go much more into the details of different ‘modes’ of such fishing.

To some extent, for some more than for others, self-employed fishing and gleaning and other coastal natural-resource based livelihood activities have been – and continue to be – a strategy of avoiding regimented plantation, commercial fishing and factory work, or lowly paid agricultural, construction and domestic work. Some of the fishermen, in particular those who are more or less full-time and highly committed, like to construct themselves as being capable of using their own knowledge and skills to make a living and be their own boss. Some like to have a choice and switch between land-based work and fishing. In the following analysis I look at three different modes of smaller-scale fishing to show that there is not only great variation in such fishing practises but, as James F. Eder has also discovered in a coastal settler community on the island of Palawan (2003), more systematic patterns of marine resource use and knowledge which to some extent maps onto the history of settlement formation described in the previous chapter.62 It is from the analysis of these ‘modes’ I begin to assess the relative decline or otherwise of ‘small-scale fishing’ and what this might mean to different categories of coastal dwellers in Sibulan.

**Three modes of fishing among coastal dwellers in Sibulan**

Small-scale fishing expanded rapidly alongside the expansion of capital intensive modes during the second half of the 20th century. With expanding markets for fresh seafoods and the adoption and development of new gear types and marine resource extraction practices,63 more men specialised in fishing during the 1950s, 60s and 70s. On a

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62 In San Vicente, Palawan, Eder documents not only great variation in the distribution of knowledge of resource use, but discovers more systematic patterns linked to gender, age and timeline of settlement Class and land tenure insecurity also comes into play (2003: 214).

63 Two such changes which influenced fishing practices in Sibulan were the introduction of nylon and smaller motorised outrigger canoes. In the early 1960s, Sibulan fishermen used cotton lines (*lambo*) and abaca nets. There was a proliferation of nylon lines and nets in the 1960s. Motorised outrigger canoes (*pamboats*) became available to some fishermen in Sibulan in the late 1960s and early 1970s.
national level, one study shows that the increase in number of small-scale ('municipal') fishermen from 1970 to 1980 was significantly higher than the population growth rate (Tietze, Groenewold et al. 2000). While some households have traditionally relied more on marine resources than others, fishing looks to have provided a better source of income and livelihood than alternative employments for many at this time and, in effect, attracted labour from different sectors of the rural economy. This was primarily cash fishing. The small-scale fishermen in Sibulan served both local markets and were linked to external markets through extensive networks of fish buyers, traders and retailers.

I delineate three 'modes' of fishing: (1) larger fish traps and beach seine (typically owned by somewhat better-off households linked to well-established, long-term settled families); (2) full-time, highly mobile, skilled outrigger fishing with a diverse set of hook-and-line techniques; and (3) part-time outrigger fishing closer to the shore with few hook-and-line techniques (less skilful).

While all three modes of smaller-scale fishing were practiced across the three coastal barangays of Amio, Minaba and Talak during the second half of the twentieth century, there has nevertheless been a stronger pattern suggesting that among families with a longer history of landownership and residence, there were members who practised a more sedentary and seasonally full-time fishing with somewhat more capital intensive methods. There was one family in Amio and one in Minaba who until the 1970s were involved in fishing with large fish corrals (bungsods) and they fit within this mode of people who fish with somewhat larger-scale sedentary techniques (they owned some

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64 The 'municipal' fisheries sector is a government administrative definition and refers to fishing with boats of 3 gross tons or less. 'Commercial' boats are, unless given special permit, not allowed to fish inside 'municipal waters,' or within 15 kilometres from the shoreline (see Chapter Eight).

65 Apart from belonging to a family with 'original' settler status, class, ecological and generational factors also come into play. Young, unmarried men are more likely to fish with hook-and-line and spear gun, as they own little fishing gear. They may as young men fall into 'mode 2' or 'mode 3.'
land and were members of families with solid long-term settler status. I briefly described this kind of fishing above and will not say more here, except to mention that the households involved in *bungsod* fishing in the 1960s and 1970s are no longer part of the local fishing community. Their children have obtained college education and taken up jobs in Dumaguete City and elsewhere, a process of self-separation from the neighbourhood community which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

**Mode 1: Trap *(bobo)* and beach seine *(sahid)* fishing**

Given the history of land tenure and use, in Talak the dominant ‘mode’ of fishing was with beach seine and larger fish traps (‘mode 1’). Belonging to families who have a long history of living in the area, these fishermen tended to have better access to coastal land-based resources (coconut trees, nipa palms, etc.) than those who have settled in the area at a later time. They have also a closer link to owners of rice fields in the area and some family members – mostly women – have continued to do some work in the rice fields. At the same time, they have also separated themselves from their agrarian kin by developing a stronger identification as *mananagat* – fisherman. I will use this term to indicate skillful, highly committed fishermen. *Mananagat* distinguish themselves from ‘part-timers’: “part-timers are not *mananagat.*” Part-timers are men who fish from time to time, ‘just’ as a sideline, some for amusement or pleasure (*lingaw-lingaw*), amateurs with little commitment.

Several of the Polido brothers in Talak have throughout the period from the late 1960s until today relied to a significant extent on fishing with larger fish traps.66 Their parents, Maura and Geraldo, had ten children and seven had established their own families on the same house lot.67 Five of their sons were involved in fishing.

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66 As young, unmarried men, however, they would have ownership of little gear and some of them were, in addition to fishing with their relatives in Talak, on occasional fishing trips that lasted several days.

67 Maura was eighty-four years old in 2005 and a widow. Maura’s husband never owned agricultural land, nor did he hold tenancy contract with landowners, but worked on the land of other long-term settled families who were also kin and combined farming with fishing. Maura is from the neighbouring barangay of Tubtubon and moved to Geraldo’s place after marriage.
Relying on local knowledge of the underwater terrain and currents, the fishermen in this family had their ‘secret’ locations – tolongdon – where they put the traps. The fish traps were put out at depths of 45 to 75 meters, about 500 to 1000 meters from the shoreline of Talak. In the past, they used to hide the location of the fish trap by not using a floater on the surface. Since the late 1980s, they have used floaters, which mean other fishermen can see their ‘secret’ locations. It is easier to ‘catch’ the bobo with a floater. They started using floaters also because more of their fish traps were now placed in deeper waters. Some fishermen using scuba gear allegedly had stolen fish from their traps, and they began to place most of their bobo beyond the reach of scuba-divers. To prevent others from using their tolongdon – their own ‘secret’ fishing place – the Polido fishermen instead made sure they always maintain a bobo on these spots.

Usually five fishermen go together in a bangka to put out and empty the fish traps. A bangka is a larger non-motorised dugout canoe. Brothers, fathers and sons in the Polido family went together on these fishing operations, sometimes also with other relatives or good friends in the neighbourhood. The traps were emptied two times per month, during lakad, when the moon is ‘half-full’ or ‘half-empty’ and the sea currents (sulog) are slow or weak. The catch levels varied over the season and were generally low compared to what they used to be. The average catch per bobo was about 4-5 kilos each time they were emptied, or 8-10 kilos per month. Sometimes they would be lucky and get plenty of fish, when for example a larger group of surgeon fish (bagis and indangan) or a few large groupers (galot) found their way into the traps. With a large number of such fish
traps, however, they were still an important source of income for the five Polido men and two other relatives who had ownership (or partnership shares) in them.

Erwin told me that the Polidos in Talak ‘owned’ forty large fish traps with a total value of 120,000 pesos (the cost of material and labour to make one *bobo* was about 3000 pesos). Older fishermen like Erwin and Rolando had accumulated more equipment than younger fishermen, including their own children. Erwin owned two *bangka*. Rolando used the *bangka* of his ‘partner,’ a Japanese beach lot owner across the road from his house. The other fishermen in the neighbourhood had to team up with Erwin or Rolando to bring out and empty their fish traps. The owner of the *bangka* is entitled to a share from the *bobo* owned by others.

The statement that the Polido brothers ‘owned’ the fish traps is not entirely true. Several fish traps were owned by absentee ‘partners.’ Since the price of a large *bobo* built with plastic screen, bamboo and a solid, long rope cost on average the same as the gross income from three months of fishing with the gear and there was a risk of damaging or losing a *bobo*, fishermen in Talak also teamed up with richer town dwellers. The financier of the *bobo* received half of the catch. This may look like a bad deal for the fishermen, but there was plenty of room for making sure that their share was larger than half of the catch (fish changed hands at sea, sometimes the owner of the *bobo* or his or her representative was not around). Opportunities for small-scale ‘borrowing’ and ‘shirking’ in partnerships between status unequals in the fisheries sector are not uncommon. Some of these activities may be risky and considered as ‘stealing,’ but if the ‘terms-of-trade’ are considered to be way below what is perceived as fair or the fishermen who operate the *bobo* have not developed more than a business-like

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69 The cost of a new *bangka* was in 2006 around 13,000-14,000 pesos.

70 Also in commercial fishing operations, the absentee owners of the boats can be short-changed by the captain and his crew. Based on fieldwork in a town on the neighbouring island of Panay during the late 1960s, Maria C. Blanc Szanton reports of boat-based dealers known as *panagbo* who approached larger boats out at the fishing grounds to buy fish at a below-market rate. The captains did not always inform the owners (1972: 32-33).
relationship with their partner, actions are commonly taken to improve on one’s share from the catch. The obedient, submissive client who willingly accepts exploitative terms of trade dictated by superordinates is rare in coastal Sibulan. However, newcomers who lack good connections and who need to establish a good reputation as trustworthy persons would be much more vulnerable to reprisals and less likely to get away with such behaviour. Newcomers and fishermen from other places will, in addition, not have the detailed knowledge of the best locations to put out their fish traps and their traps look to be more prone to sabotage, stealing and law enforcement (see Chapter Eight).

To increase the chances of a good catch, the Polido fishermen conducted small rituals. These tended to be practised individually or out of view of unbelievers. One way to seek good luck (swerte or chamba) is to fill a coconut shell with a special kind of grass and flowers from the procession parade of Jesus Christ. The grass and flowers are burnt to produce smoke. In inauguration rituals, the coconut shell is carried around a new boat or important fishing gear. According to Ryan, one of Rolando’s sons, the ritual has to be performed on a Tuesday or a Friday. When I asked him why, he said: “I follow the tradition of my papa and the people before.” There is continuity here, a transmission of knowledge of how to be successful, safe and comfortable at sea, and a value attached to such continuity of livelihood practices which forms the basis of a stronger identification with being a fisherman, a mananagat. 71

71 Another ritual performed by some fishermen in Sibulan was the halad-sa dagat, a small floater with different offerings on it which is sent out to sea. This ritual is similar to the one described by Don V. Hart, as it was performed in Siaton around 1950, an offering called pa-anod (1956: 48-49).

Apart from differences in skill levels and ritual knowledge, to be a good person, to be generous and do good things are commonly understood to improve one’s ‘luck.’ If a fisherman’s wife is pregnant, he will have good luck. They also pray to get a good catch. Hazel, the six-year old daughter of Ryan, would sometimes say: “Lord please give to my papa a big fish.” When a fisherman explains that ‘good luck’ was the main reason for a good catch, it may, however, also be seen as a tactic to avoid sharing knowledge about the ‘tricks of the trade.’

The sea continues to harbour spiritual beings. Some of these spirits are mermaid-like (kataos). Sirena is a female mermaid. Syokoy is the male equivalent, the merman. Mermaids and mermen proliferate in Philippine folklore. They can become visible. An aunt of Rolando once saw a syokoy. If antagonised, these spirits may cause sickness or bad luck. Ryan did not perform the halad sa dagat ritual. He explained: “I do not believe so I do not send.”
Although _bobo_ fishing was their main area of expertise and investment, the Polidos used various hook-and-line techniques, spear guns and smaller gill nets and owned smaller non-motorised outrigger canoes (_sakayan_ or _baroto_) and motorised outriggers (_pamboats_).\(^7\) They went fishing in a relatively small geographical area, in the southern part of the Tañon Strait (the body of water which separates Negros and Cebu). They also used the shallows for gleaning, beach seining and ‘trawling’ for milkfish (_bangus_) fry. I will in the next chapter look at a broader set of coastal resources that both men and women use and some of the trading arrangements they take part in.

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\(^7\) Note that the use of names for fishing gear and boats varies within small geographical areas and among different settler groups. In Sibulan, a _sakayan_ refers to a handmade wooden (dugout) outrigger canoe, non-motorised, used mostly by one fisher at a time (about 8 feet long). _Sakayan_ means vessel. _Baroto_ may be a more precise name for this kind of outrigger, as it refers to a small _sakayan_. I will follow the most commonly used name for this kind of boat among the fishermen I worked with, however, and that was _sakayan_.

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Figure 3.1: Rolando makes a new _bobo_
Mar Florentino, a fisherman who lived in a large kin-based house group next to the beach in the northern part of barangay Talak, was the most successful fishermen in Sibulan in terms of catch levels and income among those surveyed. He was a member of a family recognised to be the first people to live in this area. Mar owned two large beach seine nets, called sahid. The sahid is used to catch sardines and anchovies. Mar’s net was pulled by as many as 20 people, men, women and children who received a share of the catch. In addition, Mar also owned the bangka used to transport the net. Sometimes two or three sakayan were also used to coordinate the position of the net in relation to the school of fish. Mar also owned one sakayan and one pamboat. When Mar and his fishing team had ‘luck,’ they would occasionally haul in one ton of fish in a few hours. Being the owner of the large bangka and the sahid, Mar was entitled to more than half of the catch.73

73 In August 2006, Mar’s share of the sardines and anchovies caught in his beach seine earned him more than 30,000 pesos. His average monthly income from fishing over a seven-month period was just over 11,000 pesos. This amount was lower than expected for the period surveyed due to quite extensive
Other core members of his sahid operation were two of his nephews and the husband of one of his daughters. The rest of the team consisted of whomever was around when Mar decided to use the net. Neighbours showed up, unsolicited, to help pull the sahid of Mar. If there was a large catch, more people would join and help pull the net to qualify to get a few kilo of the fish caught. When poorer neighbours show up to help pull the sahid of Mar, their expectations, as Lieban notes based on fieldwork in Sibulan in 1959, “reflect claims persons feel they have on resources in the community that are controlled by their kinsmen and neighbours” (1967: 145). Even if Mar did not welcome everyone who showed up to pull the net, it was not easy to refuse such assistance. He relied on their help and support to be able to continue with the practice. After pressure from local fishermen like Mar who opposed a total ban, beach seining was permitted seasonally and in restricted areas in Sibulan despite a national ban (see Chapter Eight).

This kind of fishing is arguably not very ‘small-scale.’ Compared to the majority of fishermen in Sibulan who rely on income from hook-and-line fishing, small fish nets, traps, pots, spear guns and other low-capital equipment, Mar had more capital intensive fishing gear. Coming from a landowning family with solid status as locals, the ‘original people of the place,’ Mar’s family had a high level of tenure security to the house lot they lived on, a lot which included fifty meters of the dry portion of the beach. This part of the beach was a hangout for around thirty fishermen, many of whom lived in other areas of Talak and needed a place to dock their boats and store other gear. In addition, Mar was recognised to be one of the fishermen to have the best knowledge of the relationship between weather phenomena, sea currents and pelagic fish behaviour in Sibulan, especially herrings, sardines and tunas. As I will explain shortly, knowledge of sea currents is a necessary requirement for the kind of smaller-scale fishing conducted in the narrow mouth of the strait separating the islands of Negros and Cebu, the Tañon Strait. For Mar and his grandsons – he had four daughters and no sons – this beach

repair work that had to be undertaken on his largest sahid net, lasting for almost two months. Upon completing the repair work, Mar conducted a similar ritual as the Polido fishermen.
space in front of their houses was important for sharing information, for developing and maintaining partnerships, selling fish and, in general, socialising and securing affirmation as skilful fishermen. On land, they joked, gossiped, shared information on fishing related matters and talked about government policies and practices to regulate the fisheries sector (see Chapter Eight). They also discussed the merits of political candidates and government officials. At this portion of the beach, there was a ‘relational core’ linked to residence, livelihood, kinship and marriage, but also non-relatives and non-resident fishermen were part of this fishing community.

Compared to the pioneer settlers in coastal Amio (see below), the Talak fishermen have been much less involved in hosting migrant fishermen. A key reason for this may be that they themselves were more committed to sedentary techniques and have continued to rely on kin and friends in the neighbourhood for their main fishing practices. They have also been able to control and draw on a wider range of coastal resources than coastal dwellers in Amio and Minaba (see Chapter Two, Four and Five). Mar, in his 50s, had never gone on muro-ami trips or left home to work in other places. He said: “that’s not for me, I like it here.” Mar enjoyed and appreciated the quality of life that family organised, place-based forms livelihood offered, drawing on kin and friendship relations in the locality and marine resources to build himself up as a neighbourhood leader (see Chapter Four).

**Mode 2: Skillful hook-and-liners**

Before I introduce the ‘mode 2’ fishermen, it is useful to mention the importance of having good knowledge of sea currents to be able to have some success fishing with lower-capital equipments in the southern end of the Tañon Strait. One aspect of the status of fishermen in this area relates to their knowledge of the time, location and strength of sea currents.

At a general level, skillful fishers are familiar with a wide range of site-, lunar- and seasonally-specific fishing methods (Yano 1994: 44). They know the usual time and
location of different fish species and spawning periods. They need to know the terrain at the bottom of the ocean and use the triangulation method to locate corral patches, channels, crags, shoals and submerged rocks (Randall 1977: 29). The Tañon Strait is known to have particularly strong sea currents (sulog). This ‘knowledge barrier’ works to limit some kinds of fishing and may be one reason for why newcomers to the area who do not have a background in fishing have found it difficult to become mananagat. Just to successfully navigate these waters with a small outrigger canoe, the fishermen need good knowledge of these currents.

The sea currents follow diverse paths and have different strengths depending on the features of the terrain, weather phenomena and timing. Fishermen also draw on information from the location and movement of the sun, the moon and the winds to predict the strength and direction of currents. Fish catch fluctuates within the month, linked to the lunar cycle. During lakad, more men fish more often. Lakad refers to the two periods of the month when the moon is ‘half-full’ and ‘half-empty.’ This is the period when the sulog is the weakest. The lakad effect is weakest in June and December, when the difference between high tide and low tide are the highest. During lakad in Sibulan, depending on exact location of fishing, there will be three to five days when the currents are slow (‘hinay ang sulog’). During periods of full moon and when the moon is ‘dead’ (patay ang bulan) the currents tend to be very strong and the fish harder to catch. At this time, there are more seashells available in the shallows and many household members go gleaning during the big low tides, mostly for their own consumption but also to sell in the neighbourhood.

74 The peak flood current occurs during the same time as the moonrise and the moonset, while the peak ebb current occurs when the moon is at zenith (Randall 1977: 38). From the month of February to August, the peak flood current occurs during the daytime. From September to January, the peak flood current is at night.
Talab-on refers to the current going north, when the tide is coming in. Hologton is the current going south, when the tide is going out. A knowledgeable fisherman knows how to utilise these daily changes in the currents to his own advantage. He rides the current – magpaanod sa sulog – to the fishing ground, arriving just when the current weakens and its time to drop the line as fish come out of their shelters to feed. The fisherman then rides the current back home again, when the current changes direction and picks up in strength. One such period of slack water, just after the talab-on current ends and before the hologton current begins, is called padantol, lasting from half an hour to one hour (longer during periods of lakad). The period just after the hologton current ends and before the talab-on current picks up strength is called hinagite. There are two padantol and hinagite per 24 hours. Sometimes, there is a stronger overlap in these currents, “when the talab-on and the hologton are fighting,” as one fisherman expressed it. This creates a ‘whirlpool’ effect (eddy), called lilo, the water circling around with massive force, hence the name of the town at the southern tip of Cebu Island, Lilo-an.

The men who fish with non-motorised outriggers sometimes use small sails on their boats to reach fishing grounds further away from home. They know how change in the wind is related to change in the currents. When the biggest high tide of the day is coming in there is often no wind. When the high tide reaches its maximum and the low tide begins, there is typically a period with stronger wind. The wind also tends to blow stronger when the peak low tide ends and the flood tide begins.

Knowledge of sea currents has to be matched with knowledge of fish behaviour and gear techniques to be useful. This knowledge tends to be transmitted within kin-based house groups and evolves as relationships, marine resources, funds, market prices,

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75 There are also other currents linked to the talab-on and hologton. Ulwag is a current going out from the beach and takes place both during talab-on and hologton. Dumagsa is a current going towards the beach, which also happens during talab-on and hologton. Waso refers to the phenomenon where the upper level of the water is talab-on and the deeper level is moving hologton. The waso current occurs when a low pressure is approaching and there is no wind. Binal-an is another term for the waso-phenomenon.
regulations, and so forth, changes. Furthermore, as I will show with the next example, skills developed at home are sometimes brought to new fishing grounds and shared with fishermen in other places, both in exchange for the knowledge of these fishermen and for the hospitality of the local community.

Beginning in the 1960s, many of the men who came from landless fisher-farmer households who settled near and eventually onto the beach of Amio expanded their area of fishing. They developed a highly mobile form of outrigger fishing ‘full-time’ independent of monsoon season. Many Oloriz and Parena families in Amio became more dependent upon marine resources and specialised in fishing when opportunities in agriculture closed down or became less lucrative and demand for marine products expanded during the second half of the twentieth century. Those who settled onto the beach of Amio had generally fewer land-based natural resources to draw on around their house lots compared to the Polido and Florentino families in Talak. They also had limited capital for larger-scale fishing operations. At the same time, they had good hook-and-line fishing skills and the Olorizs, coming from Dauin, utilised social networks further south on Negros Island and further afield during times of the year when the monsoon winds changed, to ensure a high catch independent of the main fishing season in Sibulan. Being migrants to the places they went, they had to negotiate with local families to get permission to take up residence.

The Olorizs had obtained solid status as a well-established local family in coastal Amio at this time (see Chapter Four). They were considered to be lumad, a Cebuano-Visayan term referring to the ‘original people of the place.’ The lumad distinguish themselves from more recent arrivals and migrants, langyaw. Fishermen who stay for extended periods of time in other places need to establish good relations with lumad. Newcomers

76 Some of these fishermen were the unmarried sons of mode 1 fishers who had not yet obtained ownership of more capital intensive sedentary fishing gears and boats.

77 Lumad has in recent decades also become a term used to refer to non-Muslim and non-Christian ethnolinguistic groups in Mindanao, in the context of indigenous property rights.
to a place will commonly have to nurture relationships with long-term settler groups to get access to markets, permission to sleep on a beach, buy necessities or to build a temporary house (Zayas 1994; Palis 2001). Langyaw generally have to “adjust to and come to terms with conditions in the place” (Palis 2001: 99). Mga langyaw na sila can be translated as ‘they are migrants (here) or ‘they come from another place’ or ‘they are only visitors.’ Migrant fishers may be given permission to build a makeshift hut of native materials in a designated space. The host family commonly supplies bait, hooks and lines, or provides cash advances, food and cigarettes, to gain a stronger claim on the migrant fishers’ catch (Zayas 1994: 124), or to expand their own network of relations. The host may also look for labour or to rent out space or a shed.

When fishermen compete for the same resources in the same fishing grounds, such hospitality may be less frequent. A local host may, however, act as a broker and forge acceptance for migrant fishers who compete for the same resources. The host family will then get a share of the catch of the migrant fishers or buy their fish at a cheap price and share some of the benefits from this relationship with kin and allies in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, other fishermen in the area may be keen to learn new techniques from the visitors, or utilise their network of connections to access other fishing grounds and markets. Courtship and marriage affects these relationships as well.

In some areas of the Philippines the distinction between the ‘original people of the place’ and ‘migrant newcomers’ is framed in terms of ethnicity. The early settler/newcomer distinction in Palawan maps onto ethnic and occupational categories (Eder 2003). In coastal Sibulan it is the status of a family name linked to timeline of settlement and subsequent kinship and marriage relationships that have become a distinguishing factor in the politics of local resource regulation. The ‘original people’ in coastal areas of the Central Visayas tend to be part of mainstream society, being

78 Zayas and Palis found that, more than others, langyaw have to be on guard against a bad reputation and were expected to display good habits. To avoid being judged negatively, they may keep a low profile, display friendly and helpful traits, and avoid conflict, excessive drinking and rudeness.
Cebuano-speaking Catholics. In most contexts, the people they distinguish themselves from are also Cebuanos.\textsuperscript{79} Hence, it is not ethnicity and religion, but pioneer settler status and continuity of belonging to place that informs their claim to residential status. Although a strong discourse of ‘customary ownership’ or ‘indigenous rights’ has not emerged in the lowland Visayas, many in the diverse group of residents who live along the coast draw on their long-term settler status in resource regulation, in negotiations with patrons and government officials, fish buyers and migrant fishers. I will say more on the \textit{lumad/langyaw} distinction in relation to how kinship is recognised, the role of neighbourhood brokers and the status of settler groups as ‘locals’ in the next chapter. Here, I want to show how \textit{mananagat} from Amio who went on fishing trips to other places have forged acceptance in new places by becoming \textit{langyaw}.

Apart from being a term used by locals to categorise outsiders, \textit{langyaw} also “suggests a profitable exploration and movement from one place to another” (Zayas 1994: 108).\textsuperscript{80} \textit{Molangyaw ko sa gawas} can be translated as ‘I will go out’ or to another place, for example abroad or to Manila, with the implied understanding that the rationale is to go elsewhere for work to help one’s family back home. I will tell the story of George Oloriz to show how he and his mates, mostly relatives, in Amio expanded their area of fishing all the way to Mindanao. The example illustrates how coastal community relations have commonly been forged through small-scale fishing in this part of the world.

\textsuperscript{79} The ‘original people of the place’ in this area are thus different from the typical account of indigenous people caught up in processes of modernisation, state formation and capitalist market expansion, as for example the “Orang Asli” who has become a minority group within the Malaysian state as migrants from majority society have encroached on their lands (Denton, Endicott et al. 1997; Gomes 2007).

\textsuperscript{80} Zynthia Zayas’s study of the relationships between pangayaw (migrant fishers) and tumandok (sedentary groups) has influenced my own understanding of coastal community dynamics in the Visayas. \textit{Tumandok} (Ilonggo) was not an expression used in Sibulan, however. While some family groups will be more sedentary than others, it was the \textit{lumad/langyaw} distinction which was highlighted by informants in this study.
George Oloriz began fishing in 1964, when he was twelve years old. In the late 1960s, he joined his relatives in Amio on fishing trips to Cabangahan, Siatón, a location which is sheltered from the amihan – the north-easterly monsoon winds (see figure 3.4, p. 90). After a ten-month muro-ami fishing trip to Palawan organised by former congressman Abines in 1971, from 1972 to 1974, George, together with relatives and friends in Amio, borrowed the pamboat of a relative in Dipolog (the husband of Estrella Oloriz). The boat had a 16-horse power engine. George had plenty of relatives in Dipolog, including his first cousin Teresita Oloriz and family members of his wife, Noli. They took the boat both to Apo Island and to Sulinog, an island north of Dapitan and Dipolog, Mindanao. George had a cousin living on Apo and asked permission to sleep in a shed on the beach. The season for the fishing trips to Sulinog was during the months of little wind, between April and July. From Sulinog, where they did not stay overnight, they went to Dipolog to sell their share of the fish and give half of the catch to the owner of the boat (tunga or 50/50). George and his companions (kauban) then returned to Cuadra/Dauin where they docked the boat. They took tricycle, bus or Jeepney between Dauin and Sibulan.

I do not know the exact family connection between George and Estrella, only that she lived on the southern tip of Cebu Island, in Santander. She met her husband when he was on fishing trips to Santander and moved with him to Dipolog.

George married Noli in 1976. Noli was born in Misamis Occidental, Mindanao, but as a child she grew up mostly in Siquijor, where her father was fishing. Then the family moved to Dumaguete in 1974. In 2005, she had two siblings living in Dumaguete, two in Siquijor and one in Manila. Apart from selling fish and doing domestic chores, Noli had worked as a store attendant, house ‘helper’ (katabang), rice planter and harvester, and in a carenderia (small kitchen) in Dumaguete.
George was keen to point out that he had family ties to almost all the places where he went fishing. Female members of the Oloriz family have married into fishing communities not only in Sibulan, but in southern Cebu, on Siquijor, on Apo Island and in northern Mindanao. I sensed that he was claiming access rights based on kinship ties and, perhaps, feeling more at ease knowing that ‘family’ lived in the areas where he went fishing.

George spent one year in Cabangahan in 1974/75. He explained: “I was single.” On one of these fishing trips, a few years earlier, he went with his brothers and another relative, Nolito Parena, son of Anton Parena and Myrna Oloriz. Nolito was known to be an excellent guitar player and singer. Among unmarried men, the courting of local girls was one of the aspects of these fishing trips. “He always went to our house in Siaton,” said Leticia, who ended up marrying Nolito and moved with him to Amio. According to Jean Paul Dumont, in the early 1980s, in a coastal village on the neighbouring island of Siquijor, fishing determined unmarried men’s access to cash, power and women (1993: 423). When a young man gives away fish to the family of
a girl he has a crush on, he shows himself as a good provider and a generous person. Fish give-aways (hatag ang isda) are highly symbolic and a key way of making and maintaining desired relationships. They would also spend money from their fish catch on snacks and tuba (fermented coconut sap) with new friends in the places they stayed.

Apart from allowing for good times and male bonding, fishermen share information on various fishing methods when they relax and recharge themselves, frequently over a gallon or two of tuba. Lasdak, a multiple hood-and-line technique to catch round scads and mackerels, became popular in Amio in 1975. Amio fishermen learned the technique from friends in Siaton. The Siaton fishermen had themselves picked up the technique in the 1960s from another group of fishermen. Local fishermen will also be keen to learn new techniques from migrant fishers. Fishermen in Bantayan, Dumaguete, were taught pamulatok from visiting fishermen from Santander, Cebu, a hook-and-line technique to catch barracuda George and Jun Oloriz Jr. obtained knowledge of the technique from Bantayan fishermen in the 1980s and the technique has since spread to Talak. The technique may be modified and tried in new fishing grounds as new groups try it out. There is not a 'free flow' of information, however, as fishermen also keep secrets. Some information, also about ritual practices, is only passed on from father to son or to close friends in the neighbourhood.

After one year of fishing in Cabangahan in 1974/75, George was able to save up enough money to buy his own motorised outrigger canoe. The engine was a ten horse power. Together with relatives and friends in Amio, George continued to go on fishing trips to Apo Island during the 1970s and 1980s. When they went to Apo Island, they tended to stay there for five days, mostly for hook-and-line (pamasiyon) and spear gun fishing. They also went back and forth between Cuadra/Dauin and Sulino on daytrips, leaving five in the morning and coming back at night, using six litres of gasoline. During the 1970s and 1980s, fishing was still good. George told me that his pamboat was frequently full of fish. During lakad, it would often take less than two hours to get fifteen kilos of high quality fish, using taktakon, a big hook-and-line technique.

By establishing and maintaining inter-island networks through migrant fishing and by relating himself to kin, friends and long-time partners in these other locations, George

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83 On the trips to Amangan, the fishing technique employed was mostly palugdang (single hook with a big shrimp as bait and a line attached to a floater).

84 Taktakon is mostly used to catch larger jacks and groupers. For more details, see Appendix A, table A-1: Commonly used hook-and-line techniques.
and other fishermen from Sibulan were able to tap into new fishing grounds as older ones closer to home were showing signs of decline, and to enable successful hook-and-line fishing independent of the seasonal monsoon winds, in effect expanding a sense of community to a wider region. In some cases, such spatialised strategies have resulted in impressive inter-island networks (Seki 2004). To ‘go out’ (molangyaw sa gawas), either driven out by economic necessity or to explore profitable opportunities in other places, has been part of a broader livelihood orientation among Visayans throughout the twentieth century and most likely also in earlier times (Mangahas 2004). Among the fishermen of Amio, it was a circular pattern of migration which was most common during the second half of the twentieth century.

The Parena and Oloriz fishermen in Amio acted as lumad when they hosted migrants in Amio and they became langyaw when they themselves went on fishing trips to other places and stayed on the beach outside the house of a local family. There was a sense of reciprocity in the pattern, with a reversal of roles when the monsoon changed, when lumads in another place came to Sibulan to fish during the main fishing season. The dynamic between the ‘original people of the place’ and migrants was one where George, as a skilful outrigger fisherman, could switch relatively easy between lumad and langyaw. They existed in the same person of the mode 2 fisherman.

Young unmarried men’s contribution to their families’ household budget during these fishing trips seems to have varied quite a bit. Married men would send money home on a regular basis. Young men would spend money on courtship, fishing gear, save for a boat, and share with their barkada (a group of coeval friends), but most of their fish

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85 Among former fisher-farmers in Dalaguete, southern Cebu, Koki Seki found that seasonal migration in fishing operations began in the 1920s (2000: 134). From the 1950s and up to recent times, the Dalaguetenon formed settlements in several places in the Visayas, Mindanao, and Palawan and have since relied on inter-island networks among these settlements for seasonal fishing trips, following changes in the monsoon winds (ibid.).

86 From November to mid-February, the amihan (northeasterly monsoon) is strong, waves are big and fish catch tend to be poor in Sibulan.
catch was nevertheless bought by a close relative from a better-off household in Amio. Ariana Calumpong Parena operated as a *compradora* — or a bulk buyer — and vendor in the main fish market of Dumaguete, and was the regular buyer (*suki*) of fish from many fishermen in Amio, also when they fished in Siaton, Apo Island and other places. Roads linking Siaton to Dumaguete had been built to facilitate transportation of sugarcane. Fish caught in southern Negros was sent with passenger buses, trucks, tricycles and *jeepneys*[^87] to the provincial capital.[^88] To maintain relationships and get a better claim on the Amio fishermen’s catch, Ariana would give cash advances, emergency loans, lend rice and also give morning snacks (*hatag para painit*) to the families of the fishermen.

[^87]: The *jeepney* has been one of the most common means of public transportation in the Philippines. The jeepneys were initially made from leftover U.S. military jeeps.

[^88]: Don V. Hart, who did fieldwork in Siaton in the early 1950s, describes this trading route, with passenger buses and cargo trucks bringing larger fish catches to the market of Dumaguete. It was so lucrative to send fish to Dumaguete that many days, no or very little fresh fish was available in the Siaton market (Hart 1956: 57-58).
This example illustrates a point made by many others who have done social science related fieldwork in the Philippines: personalised economic relationships and market exchange are widespread (Russell 1987: 139, ref. to Anderson 1969, Davis 1973 and Szanton 1972). Ties of kinship, godparenthood, friendship and neighbourhood are utilised in a whole range of productive and trading activities (ibid 1987: 146). Traders establish dyadic relationships to ensure stable supply and reduce transaction costs, but also, as Russell argues, "to enhance market channel control by constraining the choices open to people dependent on others for vital resources" (ibid.). George did not have to sell his fish catch to Ariana. At the same time, he spoke of Ariana as having been a "good buyer" and may have felt a certain obligation to sell to her, as other family members living in Amio relied on her support. Ariana thus contributed to linking...
migrant fishermen to their families' back home, while at the same time earning money from their fish catch. I will come back to this example in an analysis of social differentiation within family groups in Chapter Five.

George sold the engine of his boat in 1998 due to increased gasoline prices. The hull of his pamboat was rotten. George and his wife, Noli, had three children of school age at this time and they also needed money to upgrade their house. George had gradually stopped going on longer fishing trips since the early 1990s. Two important factors in the changing pattern of George's fishing trips were declining fish catch and new regulations. With a much smaller chance of being 'lucky,' it was no longer economical to embark on expeditions that lasted a long time and required plenty of gasoline expenses. Migrant fishers were less welcome. Coastal Resource Management was on the agenda and municipal ordinances had been passed to seek to regulate the small-scale fisheries sector much more tightly (see Chapter Eight). The coastlines of the Visayas began to be crowded and marine resource frontiers were closing down in many parts of the archipelago. Diminishing catch levels and new regulations led to less capital-intensive fishing methods and fishing closer to home among the 'mode 2' fishermen described here. They began fishing in a small part of the southern Tanon Strait and along the coast down to Dumaguete City. During fieldwork, few fishing trips lasted more than four to five hours. They are no longer hosting migrant fishers and they have, I will show later, good reasons to ground themselves to place as lumad and avoid being labelled langyaw.

With much smaller catch levels and fishing from home, the wives, sisters or mothers of small-scale fishters have since the 1990s sold almost all the fish directly to end users, walking from house to house or selling fish to picnickers who come out to the beach. There are today many potential buyers of fish in the neighbourhood. They also use

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88 Russell has looked at "the implications of asymmetrical distribution of access to the means of exchange," criticising models which assume that generalised reciprocity and personalism mitigates unequal power in the circulation process (1987: 158).
mobile phones, texting friends, relatives and acquaintances living elsewhere who they know are interested in buying fresh fish. Under these circumstances, it has become less attractive for Ariana to engage in buy and sell fish business with her relatives in Amio.

George and his relatives and friends in Amio have continued to rely largely on hook-and-line techniques. Few had motorised boats during the period of fieldwork. The non-motorised outrigger with paddle and sail were efficient and practical under the new circumstances. But why have they not taken up bobo fishing? The main reason may have been a lack of capital. But they could have made partnerships with urbanites. George was also not in command of the skills needed to make and fish with larger and deeper-placed fish traps. He was also keen to continue to utilise the hook-and-line techniques despite small catch levels. I will come back to a discussion of what the small catch levels might mean for the future of small-scale fishing in general, and ‘mode 2’ fishing in particular, but will first introduce ‘mode 3’ fishing.

**Mode 3: Part-time outrigger fishing with less skills**

Former sugarcane workers who settled in Amio and Minaba were largely involved in part-time outrigger fishing closer to their place of residence and utilised fewer hook-and-line techniques (mode 3) than the previous category. Few of these part-timers had taken on a stronger identity as mananagat. Compared to the young fishermen from more established families who have fathers or grandfathers who have taught them the skills of fishing, more recent arrivals who do not come from a family background of fishers tend to prefer construction work to fishing as long as jobs are available. There was a higher level of ‘proletarianisation’ among these men. Many of the men worked as masons, welders, carpenters and other types of construction workers. Several men did tricycle driving. A few men worked as security guards, while another small group did some casual work in the fields. At the same time, many were doing some fishing and gleaning. Fishing was an important activity given the short-term and unstable character of the jobs many of them were able to obtain. When a construction worker finished a job, he would often find himself having to spend several weeks out of work, looking for
a new job. Fishing and gleaning were then temporary activities which some engaged in, especially gleaning since it required no boat or gear.

Benjie, who had special skills as a carpenter, preferred construction work because, he explained, “the money is certain compared to fishing” (Siguarado na ang kwarta kay sa mangisda). Not coming from families with a fishing background and not having married into lumad fishing households locally, his skills were not as good as the mananagat described above. Benjie and other men in this category fished mostly with a repertoire of only a few different hook-and-line techniques closer to the shoreline, used small gill nets and went gleaning. Some used spear guns. They had not become members of the local fishermen’s association and seemed unable to use their fishing practises to claim status and authority in the local fishing community.

With fewer skills and less access to boats and equipment than mode 1 and mode 2 fishermen, mode 3 fishermen relied more on lower class labour migration, construction work and other kinds of work outside their place of residence and combined these with marine resource extraction practises of various kinds, including fishing. Among the ‘newcomers’ who settled in Amio and Minaba, the level of dependence on marine resources could nevertheless be high, with many household members going gleaning, trawling for bangus fry and doing some fishing. Pepito, another ‘mode 3’ fisherman and a father of two children, returned to his parent’s place in Sibulan in 2006 from work in Manila. He said his salary was ok in Manila, but the living expenses were high: “You have to rent a house and you don’t have a stable job, plus you still have bills to pay and food to buy, plus you have kids. Your pay in a day is not enough. Here [in Sibulan], even if you only have 100 pesos a day, it would be enough.” Pepito, who had some basic fishing skills before he moved to Manila, invested in an outrigger canoe and began fishing when he moved back to Sibulan. He continued to supplement with some construction work. Pepito, discussing his choice of livelihood, said: “When you work in construction, you still have to pay lunch and pay for fare. So it’s just as good to fish.” His rationale for fishing is an economic one. Compared to the kinds of jobs he can
obtain in the wider Dumaguete area, small-scale fishing competes relatively well (as I will show below).

In Minaba, there were ‘full-timers’ as well, men who have, over time, become dedicated to fishing. As many of the men who are included in the ‘mode 3’ category were sons of former proletarianised agricultural peasants who laboured in the sugarcane fields, there looks to have been a decline in the level of proletarianisation within these households in recent times. For these men, much more so than for Benjie, to obtain wider recognition as *mananagat* may be important. At the time of fieldwork, however, these fishermen had not made close friendship relations with fishermen from more well-established local families and looked even to be denied status as *mananagat* in the wider society (see Chapter Eight). There was a common opinion among many *lumads* in Amio and Talak that “there are no *mananagat* in Minaba.” This reflected a lack of knowledge of the people who lived in that area more than some deliberate attempt to deny them such status. When George and other men who were highly committed *mananagat* in Amio and Talak suggested that there were “only part-timers” (‘*part-timer ra*’ or *lingaw-lingaw*) and non-fishermen (*dili mananagat*) living in Minaba, they at the same time suggested that the men in coastal Minaba were not dedicated fishermen, men who commit to and are capable of making a living from fishing. Those who went fishing in Minaba were not seen to be part of the larger community of fishermen in coastal Sibulan. These opinions were reflected in municipal government records. Despite there being more than 20 outrigger canoes owned by coastal dwellers in Minaba at the time of a survey in 2006, in official records, there were no fishermen living in this barangay. In Chapter Eight, I will explain some of the reasons for this lack of recognition as ‘fisher folks’ in municipal records.

Living along the same stretch of the beach was not sufficient for becoming incorporated into local fishing communities. The process of ‘becoming local’ in a new place involves more than just relocation or settlement in a new area. Nevertheless, they were able to settle next to already settled families along the shoreline and have lived in peaceful co-
existence for many decades, consolidating themselves as householders and locals, forming their own neighbourhood and developing their own patterns of marine resource use.

The end of small-scale fishing?
The end of small-scale fishing has been made for a long time. In a Philippine context, this prediction has been made for some time. Randall's study of small-scale fishing in the southern Philippines in the early 1970s suggests that the future of small-scale fishing looks bleak as the income is often inadequate to make a living and there seems to be no prospect for improvement (1977: 220). The master trope suggesting that society is changing from a peasant-like entity where kinship, community, economy and cosmology are bound together in a small geographical area to one where place-based communities loses significance, I argued in Chapter One, frames the overall understanding of where things are heading. One variant of this overall paradigm assumes that a strong underlying process of proletarianisation undermines small-scale, household organised and place-based livelihoods. While the small-scale fishermen in Sibulan are not peasants, the importance of kinship and place-based relations in their lives has not declined. Small-scale fishing has proliferated and been a key resource in the construction of contemporary coastal communities throughout the region. The fishermen's boats and gear may look ancient, but are in fact highly efficient.

Although the catch levels have gone down and the share of motorised boats has not increased over the last ten years, the number of small-scale fishermen in Sibulan has continued to increase. While there looks to have been a larger increase in the number of part-time and occasional fishermen and the small-scale fisheries sector do no longer draw the same high number of people from other sectors of the rural economy as it did a

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90 According to government statistics, there was a 39% increase in the number of fishermen in Sibulan from 1996 to 2000 (Municipal Government of Sibulan 2001: 11).
few decades ago, there are still many who are keen to learn and some become dedicated fishermen. Furthermore, by remembering that specialisation into ‘full-time’ fishing was for many households a recent (and always partial) phenomenon, broad arguments about the decline of small-scale fishing as a consequence of an expansion of capitalist forms of large-scale fishing can benefit from the kind of approach I have taken here. But new challenges have emerged, questioning the long-term sustainability and viability of small-scale fishing.

The combined effect of growth in larger commercial fishing vessels, destructive fishing techniques, loss of mangrove forests, siltation, pollution, and rapid increase in coastal populations has put pressure on marine ecosystems and fish stocks. In addition to the proletarianisation hypothesis of Firth and Alexander, where large-scale fishing is predicted to displace small-scale fishing, another, although related, argument for why small-scale fishing is declining and looks to have ‘no future’ relates to a deteriorating marine resource base. Some authors document how overseas demand and high prices can have detrimental effect both on local environments and traditional forms of livelihood. In a new era of flexible capital and globalisation, a large number of small-scale producers who make a living from collecting and catching threatened species will, some literature suggests and researchers warn, eventually undermine their own subsistence base, as species extinction draws closer. Small-scale fishing becomes unsustainable both economically and environmentally. In the literature on Coastal Resource Management (CRM), alarm bells are ringing: without effective regulation to limit the use of destructive techniques and reduce the intensity of fishing, coastal communities of fisher folks are doomed to carve out marginal livelihoods. Eco-friendly coastal tourism is promoted with the justification of diversifying coastal economies and lessening the demand on fish catch. My main point here is not to argue that these perspectives are flawed, or that more effective and equitable forms of resource

91 While there continues to be an increase in absolute numbers of full-time and part-time fishers, the share of the total male working population in the wider Dumaguete area who go fishing is likely to have stagnated or declined over the last two decades.
regulation are not urgently needed, but to show that fishermen with skills, local knowledge and commitment have been able to sustain their levels of net income and continue to draw status and identity from being a mananagat despite low catch levels.

The data I collected from interviews with old fishermen in Sibulan suggest that 10-15 kg of fish was average for a hook-and-line session in the 1960s. The data from fish catch records over a thirteen-month period in 2005/2006 suggest that, on average, the catch per trip among Sibulan fishermen was only 2.23 kg (adjusted for large sahid catch and some other techniques). The average monthly gross income from the fish sold amounted to about 3000 pesos per fisherman. 82.9 per cent of the fish caught was sold (see Appendix A: An overview of the small-scale fishing economy of coastal Sibulan). While the average catch per trip data suggest that there is not much of a livelihood that can be drawn from so little fish, I will show that there is much more to it than this figure suggests.

The average catch and income figures conceal individual differences and seasonal and lunar cycle fluctuations and are only meant to give a rough estimate of catch levels among fishermen in the study area. Differences in skill-levels, commitment and endurance, and access to and ownership of boats and gear types affect individual fishers’ catch levels and return from fishing. A less skilful hook-and-line fisher (mode 3) tended to have an average catch varying between 1 and 2 kg per fishing trip over the year (70-140 pesos in economic value if all fish was sold) while more skilful hook-and-liners had an average catch level of 2-3 kg per trip (140 to 210 pesos). I want to stress that, while overall catch levels are much lower today than they were thirty years ago, there is still considerable variation in fishermen’s success at sea.

92 The sample size was 8 fishermen from August to October 2005 and 18 to 24 fishermen from November 2005 to August 2006. The average price of the fish sold was 70 pesos per kg. The average number of fishing trips per fisherman per month was 23.

93 An unskilled construction worker would earn between 120 and 150 pesos per day, but would typically be faced with higher costs for transportation than the cost of low-capital hook-and-line fishing.
George's hook-and-line fishing continued to be the main source of income for his household. The average monthly value of his fish catch, over a 13-month period in 2005/2006, after subtracting expenses, was about 6800 pesos.\textsuperscript{94} Despite low catch levels, George's hook-and-line fishing compared favourably with a range of other occupations, even with some office jobs. George had adopted a very low-cost form of fishing, utilising many different hook-and-line techniques and also fishing more often than the average fisherman surveyed. George liked to be his own boss, not having to work in the middle of the day when the sun is hot and be able to stay close to his family. In addition, by selling fish directly to the end consumers, wives, daughters, sisters and other female sellers of fish are able to obtain a higher price than they were with the suki system described above. The combination of lower-cost fishing methods and cutting out intermediaries in marketing have allowed skilful fishermen and their households to achieve levels of net income from this livelihood activity alone which allow for what in the local measure of things is relatively good. In addition to the economic value of fishing, in terms of cultural identification with being a mananagat, the sense of autonomy that emanates from self-directed work, the mastery of the skills of fishing, the bravery of manoeuvring a small boat out in the big sea and the relationship they have to the marine environment and to each other, fishing continues to be important to many men in Sibulan.

\footnote{The data is based on daily records – diligently recorded by George's wife – of fish catch in kg, species caught, method of fishing, price of fish sold and share of total fish catch sold. I estimate the average monthly cost of George's fishing operation to have been 467 pesos (10.9 pesos per fishing trip). On average, George went on 42 fishing trips per month. I have estimated the value of fish consumed to be 90\% of the market price, as it is common to sell the higher value fish and keep smaller or somewhat less valuable fish for own consumption. The share consumed of George's fish catch was higher than the average of all fishermen (35\% versus 17.1\%). The share sold often reflects the level of indebtedness of households. The price George's wife got from selling his fish catch to richer neighbours in Amio was not much lower than what she could have obtained by travelling to Dumaguete, which would entail transportation costs and take much more time.}
At the same time, some stop being fishermen, either because they have found other jobs in other places or because they were never highly committed to begin with. The sons of full-time and highly committed fishermen are not all taking up the line of work of their parents. This was particularly true of ‘mode 2’ fishermen in Amio. This kind of fishing is hard work and no longer a way to court local girls from well-established families (see Chapter Four and Five). These girls see “no future” in fishing. In the wider society, too, this kind of fishing tends to be associated with low educational levels, poverty and marginality. While some may fish as an ‘employment of last resort’ and see little prospect for livelihood improvement from this activity, I have shown that there are limitations to this perspective. The more detailed analysis of modes of smaller scale fishing shows that both in terms of income and motivation, fishing remains important as livelihood to many and, as I will show in more detail in the next chapter, as a source of status and authority for some.

The distinction between ‘small-time fisher folks’ and the large-scale fishing operators is an important one. This distinction has a long history in the Visayas and comes into play in contemporary disputes over marine resource regulation (see Chapter Eight). Larger-scale modes of commercial fishing expanded rapidly during the period I have covered in this chapter. These commercial operators have provided some jobs and contributed significantly to the depletion of marine resources, but they have not displaced small-scale fishing. Sidel says: “The Abines family… came to wield nearly monolithic power over the economy of southern Cebu” (ibid.: 121). Such a model of Philippine society ignores the small-timers’ perspectives and the fuller significance of their livelihood projects within the contexts of their own lives, replacing these with a highly monolithic view of elite domination over “the economy.” The example of muro-ami fishing may even suggest that it is the more capital intensive, large-scale operations which are set to

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95 Of George’s three sons, one was a part-timer who did more construction work than fishing. One son was ‘istambay,’ standing by for smaller jobs in the neighbourhood and went gleaning. The youngest son was trying to finish high school and did not seem to be interested in becoming a fisherman. They may, however, become part-time or more or less fulltime fishermen in the future, as they become established with their own families.
decline as the marine resource base deteriorates and lobbying against illegal commercial fishing within municipal waters intensify.

Instead of becoming proletarian, the 'mode 2' fishermen migrated temporarily to other fishing areas, living in communities where they were recognised as langyaw. When fish catch declined and they were less welcome to fish in other places, they became less mobile and invested more time and commitment to neighbourhood living and lumad status. The extent to which migrant fishermen are seen as a resource or a liability by local communities reveal information on the relative openness of community boundaries. I suggest that the meaning of the term migrant or langyaw is changing. The changing pattern of fishing among the Oloriz and Parena fishermen reflects a decline in the status of migrants. With much less fish in the sea and new Coastal Resource Management (CRM) policies becoming a central issue in the 1990s, skilful hook-and-liners from Sibulan began to fish much closer to home and have good reasons to seek to ground themselves to place as lumads. There is a larger segment of the coastal population for whom place-based, household organised coastal livelihoods have become possible and important in somewhat new ways in recent decades, people who experience a 'settling down' and consolidation of social relations along the shoreline of Sibulan. A 'sedentary' form of 'village life' in contemporary peri-urban Sibulan, one where smaller-scale modes of fishing play a key part in how people ground themselves to family, neighbourhood and obtain status within fishing communities, goes against the prediction of Firth and Alexander.

The fuller context and the 'internal mechanisms' for understanding this phenomenon are examined in more detail in the next chapter, where I go beyond fishing to include households, kin-based house groups and wider neighbourhood relations in an analysis of how some settler groups are able to define themselves to territory with lumad status and use such status to exercise some control over a broader set of neighbourhood resources.
Chapter Four: Emergence of lumad status

In the previous chapter, in describing ‘mode 2’ fishermen, I introduced the concepts of lumad (the original people of the place) and langyaw (migrants).96 The particular group of mode 2 fishermen I focussed on had lumad or lumad-like status in Amio. When they went to fish in other places, they were langyaw. I showed that these fishermen were able to switch relatively easily between categories and mix with people in other coastal communities, but did not elaborate on how lumad status was obtained in the first place. In this chapter, I will show how lumad status is obtained and why it has become particularly important to have such status in more recent times.

Lumads are families with settler status who make claims on land and leadership. Lumads see themselves as being core members of place-based community. Reflected in local leader’s efforts to consolidate status and authority along an increasingly populated shoreline, kin-based mechanisms and the extended family become increasingly focused on the neighbourhood. The chapter shows that the status of a family name linked to the ‘original people of the place’ matters – and has become more important – in terms of settler groups’ ability to appropriate coastal space as their own and thus questions the assumption of the decline of place-based community under conditions of modernity.

In many contexts, coastal dwellers in Sibulan easily associate community with family, place and neighbourhood. It is my experience that the concepts of ‘family’ (banay97), ‘place’ (lugar98) and ‘community’ (katilingban99) are often understood together, and can

96 For many Philippine specialists, the primary referent to the term ‘lumad’ is the indigenous peoples of Mindanao, known collectively as Lumad, rather than lumad in the sense in which the term is used here. See footnotes 77 and 79, Chapter Three.
97 Pamilya (Spa.) is also used.
98 Lugar can also mean space, room and area. Yuta means land, soil and homeland and is sometimes used to express a strong, intimate association with place. Dapit tends to mean location.
also carry the same meaning in terms of sense of belonging. And although kinship and affinity transcend the boundaries of the neighbourhood, as do alliance, class and religious affiliation, the association between specific family names and specific areas of the coastline is what interests me here. In some situations, kinship, co-residence, common interests in livelihood and commitment to place merge to create the conditions for a more multi-faceted relational core, one where political, economic and cultural boundaries are marked and enforced in such a way that a more robust ‘corporate’ entity emerges.

Kinship in the lowland Philippines is often described as “‘loosely structured’ both in fact and in conception” (Cannell 1999: 49). While the aim here is not to try to make the data on neighbourhood relations in coastal Sibulan fit the structure of a corporate descent group type of social organisation, the status of a family name is often ignored in discussions of societies with bilateral kinship arrangements (Wolf 1966: 8-9). In these contexts, especially among commoners and marginal groups in lowland Southeast Asia, several anthropologists have found their informants to ‘spread kinship widely’ and be present and future oriented through the idiom of siblingship rather than to trace ancestors through descent (Geertz and Geertz 1964; Dumont 1981; Gibson 1986: 88; Wurfel 1988: 34; Carsten 1995a; Carsten 1997). Except for in analysis of elites

99 Katilingban also refers to ‘society.’ Tagilungsod (Ceb) or lungsod and komunidad (Spa) are also used to refer to community

100 Alfred McCoy, for example, says: “Instead of learning the principle of family loyalty by revering distant male ancestors, Filipinos act as principals in ever-extending bilateral networks of real and fictive kin” (1993: 9). McCoy contrasts the Filipino family to the patrilineal Chinese family, proposing that only the latter is capable of “preserving property beyond three or four generations” (1993: 9). The practise of classifying entire societies as having either a bilateral or a corporate descent group type of kinship system is highly problematic (Leach 1961: 3-4; Holy 1996: 101). People within any society may be found to use different types of filiation and descent, stressing different models in different contexts and for different purposes (Holy 1996: 101).

In a critique of lineage theory as it has been developed in a highland New Guinea context, Ladislav Holy points out that while clan leaders and others may stress the unity of the local group, constructing them as patrilineal descent groups, “recruitment to it is through patrifiliation supplemented by using the ties of affinity, matrifiliation, the ties of common residence, participation in ceremonial exchanges, joining the following of a big man, etc” (1996: 101). Holy draws on H. W. Scheffler (1973: 780; 1985: 16) and argues that it is successive filial steps which form the basis of kinship. Descent is the ideology
(Fegan 1993; McCoy 1993; Sidel 1999), where a family name is seen as an important ideological resource to legitimate leadership, the status of a family name is, as far as I know, absent in Philippine studies of landless coastal dwellers and small-scale fisher folks.

Janet Carsten, in her study of a fishing community on Langkawi Island, Malaysia, suggests that this tendency to ignore ancestors and their places of origin, and instead be present and future oriented through the idiom of siblingship and the equality of affines,\textsuperscript{101} reflects long histories of population mobility, landlessness and marginality. Instead of interpreting the lack of knowledge of and interest in ancestors as social amnesia, she interprets her informants' inclination to focus on the present and future in positive terms: it has allowed diverse groups of people to settle on Langkawi and become incorporated into the local fishing communities. Migrant newcomers have become Langkawi themselves through a process of incorporation centrally involving dwelling, marriage, having children and fostering, "largely through the everyday activities of women" (1997: 282). In coastal Sibulan, while foundational myths of ancestors play little part in the claims people make to land and lines of descent are fragmentarily remembered, recent generations of ancestors play an important part in how people think of themselves as belonging to the same family and, I argue, 'original' settler status has become important in new ways in recent times, and also become more urgent. A key point I make is that kinship links to land remain strong and among 'fisher folks' and other relatively poor beach dwellers residential house lots controlled in this way have become a much more central issue today than thirty years ago.

\textsuperscript{101} The main focus of kinship and community relations on Langkawi, according to Carstens, runs through past and present sibling sets into the future in the form of cousins. Second and third cousins were enthusiastically explained, but there was much less emphasis on who their common grandparents and great grandparents were and their places of origin. Cousins were seen as "more distant kinds of siblings" (Carsten 1995a: 326).
To better understand how some coastal dwellers are able to use their status as members of lumad families to act as influential brokers and leaders at the local level, I will describe in more detail the phenomenon of kin-based house groups and neighbourhood clusters.

**Kin-based house groups**

In Sibulan, there is a relatively strong pattern of kin-based residential clustering of houses along the coastline, both among lumad and non-lumad groups. Nagtapok nga kabalayan refers to such house groupings. Nagtapok means grouping,\(^{102}\) balay means house. In this section I will describe such house groups.\(^{103}\)

During the period of fieldwork, each house group consisted roughly speaking of between four to ten households and fifteen to fifty members. Basically, these are extended families. The most important relationships in each cluster of houses are those linking parents (ginikanan) and child (anak) and children of the same parents (igsoon). These relationships form what Clifford Sather, writing on the Bajau-Laut, calls the “relational core” of the house group and neighbourhood clusters (1997: 167). This is not a descent group. Particular filiative ties\(^{104}\) are used to associate individual members with the house or family group leader (ibid.). These ties are traced bilaterally, maximally no more than four or five generations.

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\(^{102}\) Nagpundok is another expression for grouping.

\(^{103}\) By highlighting the importance of house groups, wider neighbourhood clusters and the status of a family name in livelihood and place-based community relations, I still have found data collection at the level of households very useful. For the vast majority of coastal dwellers in Sibulan, the household (panimalay) is a central entity for organizing daily activity, solve problems and plan for the future. To understand patterns in who cooperates in production, shares in consumption and develops a strong sense of obligation to ‘help each other out,’ the Philippine literature has demonstrated that a focus on household processes is crucial. However, these household entities are far from self-contained (Eder 1999: 117).

\(^{104}\) Filiation refers to a child’s relationship to his or her parents. A cognatic system places an equal weight on patrification and matrification in the ascription of kinship status. Bilateral filiation extends, in theory, to an unlimited network of kin.
Bilateral kinship and marriage are the two most common forms of obtaining membership. Affines are in a transitional state, as Carsten observed on Langkawi, "almost visibly undergoing transformation from the one state into the other" (1995: 327). With the birth of children, as well as through livelihood and co-residence activities, spouses tend to be treated like siblings and can claim an equal share of inherited property. It is also common that one sister in a sibling group (often the youngest) is expected to take care of aging parents. In exchange for her caretaker job, she receives a superior claim on her parent's house. In-marrying spouses can also bring with them children from previous relationships. These children will, as long as the relationship endures, be recognised as full members of the house group (Sather 1997: 180). Adoption and fosterage arrangements are not uncommon and can qualify to full membership. Another way to become incorporated into a house group is for someone living elsewhere to use a kin tie to the house group leader to obtain settlement rights.

Although there is a potential for simultaneous membership in multiple households and house groups, in practice, since filiation and marriage are not by themselves enough to ensure entitlements to residence and full membership, as Sather writes, "claims must be pressed and acceded to, and in all cases, they must be accompanied by actual residence sustained over a prolonged period to amount to membership" (1997: 165). For an in-marrying spouse, however, as I will show with an example later, it may take more than marriage and having children to be accepted as a full and equal member of a house group.

In coastal Sibulan, there were also non-kin and more distant kin who lived on someone else's house lot and had developed all kinds of profound links to the other residents, yet they had not been incorporated as full members of the house group.105

105 Some newcomer groups consisted of only one or two households, typically a young couple who did not have kinship links to their neighbours, staying with the permission of a local family, often in return for rent. Some of these young couples had a member with a more permanent job in Dumaguete City.
In a snapshot of coastal Amio in 2006, figure 4.1 shows the links between kinship and residential lots in the Oloriz family. Daniel and Jun Oloriz were brothers. The residential pattern of the children of Estrella and Jun Oloriz Senior was one where six of eight children lived in Amio Beach during the period of fieldwork. Four of the siblings stayed on the same house lot, the three brothers Jun Jr., Andres and George together with their youngest sister, Merlin. They each had their own house and several of their adult children also lived in separate houses on the same portion of the beach. Rene Boy and Sunny Boy, two sons of Jun Oloriz Jr., lived in Cebu at the time of fieldwork. They had married a few years before and followed their wives when they obtained work in Cebu City. One son found a casual job in construction. The other son became a driver. Their parents expected them to bring their wives and children to Amio sometime in the future, especially if their homesickness were to grow strong or if the jobs of their wives were to end or were no longer considered well-paying. Space had been reserved on the beach for them to put up two houses next to their parent’s house. They were considered to be full members of the house group by their parents and could easily rejoin the community of fishermen in Amio. Their status as full members was strengthened through occasional remittances, regular text messages and phone calls, and by visits back home. People move around and live with family in different places for shorter or longer periods of time (for work, education, retirement, widowhood). Those who are absentee family members may or may not be considered part of the ‘relational core’ of the house group they come from. The older sister of Rene and Sunny had settled with her husband in Dumaguete and was not expected to claim space for housing at her parent’s house lot in Amio. ‘Forgotten’ members of a house group are not assigned any status at all in terms of inheritance of land and other resources.
In the second diagram, the children of Gabriella Caballero and Daniel Oloriz, a similar pattern is observed, but the sibling group was less intact in terms of living on the same house lot. More members of each generation of siblings had lived elsewhere. The children of Elfido Galima and Caridad Oloriz had entered into a middle-class position, separating themselves from day-to-day affairs in the neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{106} Marten had only recently returned to Amio after living more than twenty years in Zamboanga City, Mindanao. He had not kept in close contact with his family. When he lost his job at a shipyard in Zamboanga and returned as a poor, aging, single man, he was given space to construct a house not on the house lot of his siblings, but next to another group of poor newcomers on a portion of the beach where the waves reached his stilt house. However, the location of Marten’s house may also have been tactical, as this sibling group look to prevent others from claiming the same land and maintain a strong presence in this area of the beach. When Argel Jr. came back from four years of living in Manila, bringing with him a wife from another island, he settled on the lot of his father’s brother, hence building up a stronger presence in this area of Amio beach. Argel Jr.’s father’s brother’s daughter also lived on this lot, with husband and two young children.

As the diagrams suggest, the ‘relational core’ of a family group has not only been defined by the cluster of houses on a geographically circumscribed lot. While there may be a desire among many to live close to kin, scarcity of space for new houses, conflict between members, houses established on other lots when opportunities arise to claim land, lots sold to outsiders, absentee titleholders claiming land through court cases for

\textsuperscript{106} While being \textit{lumad}, Elfido Galima did not have many siblings and was the only one in his sibling group who had not moved elsewhere. The Galima family used to own some agricultural land in coastal Amio, until 1971, when they sold it to the government when the airport was extended. Elfido used to have a fish corral (\textit{bungsod}) in Amio (see Chapter Three, p. xx). The fish from his \textit{bungsod} was sold to Librada Calumpong and her daughter, Ariana. All the children of Elfido and Caridad had received higher education and, during the time of fieldwork, were no longer involved in fishing, farming and trading activities in the neighbourhood. One daughter lived in Florida. I will elaborate on this process in Chapter Five, where some better-off households amongst themselves separate from kin in the neighbourhood and relate to place and community in a different way.
eviction, and outmigration for education, work and marriage are factors which contribute to the observed pattern of housing.

Another factor affecting the composition of house groups in Sibulan is the expectation of virilocality. Although the extended bilateral network of relatives constitutes a recognised group (the ego-centred kindred), in the lowland Visayas there has been a stronger pattern — and still an ideology — that a woman settles in her husband’s place after marriage (Dumont 1992: 153). Although men’s desire to live in their parent’s place is often compromised by a whole range of practical considerations, a virilocal post-marital residence ideology continues to resonate with coastal populations in this area. With an ideology of virilocality and a practice of tracing family names through the male line (patrilineal descent), the model of an ego-oriented kindred does not suffice to describe the everyday familial politics of house group formation and status distinctions within and between these groups.

Within each house group there is typically one person who is regarded as the authority figure in deciding on certain issues, such as uses of land, and who speaks on behalf of others in negotiations with ‘outsiders’ over terms of trade. The term for a family or house group leader — pangulo sa banay (head of family) or amahan sa banay (father of family) — also refers to a kind of breadwinner, nangamahan. Nangamahan comes from

107 Dumont calls such groupings “virtual patri-clans.”

108 These practical considerations can be proximity to other family members, markets, jobs, schools, hospitals, and the availability of residential and agricultural lands. In coastal Sibulan, brothers, and brothers and sisters lived on the same house lot, and rarely did only sisters live together.

109 It was public and church officials who under Spanish and American rule instituted a formal system recognising a male head of the house. The civil code requires a woman to use her husband’s name (Nurge 1965: 47). Ethel Nurge suggests that in pre-colonial times, there was a matronymic system. While the Spanish encouraged the authority of fathers in relation to children and wife, Cannell, referring to literature from the early Spanish period, suggests that there were well-established ‘patriarchal’ tendencies in the pre-colonial period (1999: 52).
the root word *amahan*, father. Affected by an ideology of and a preference among men for virilocality and the practise of tracing a family name patrilineally, the leader of a kin-based house group is often the oldest male in a sibling group. However, women and younger members who have experience, or have obtained special knowledge, higher education or status in other ways also exert considerable influence and make influential decisions in important arenas of social life.

Apart from seniority, the house group leader is likely to belong to the household with ownership of more productive resources and/or have better connections to elected officials, employers or external buyers of fish, copra, nipa and other local produce. They broker relationships and terms of trade on behalf of other house group members and have greater influence and decision-making power over what ‘projects’ to support. They are also well-positioned to use family labour in their own livelihood projects. In some contexts it is necessary to speak of co-heads of a dominant household within a house group, a broker household.

Apart from long-term and multifaceted ties to the house group leader, coastal dwellers are to varying degrees linked to a wider network of kin and neighbours for help and assistance, to access land, credit, jobs and markets, and for common identification.

**Kin-based neighbourhood clusters and *lumad* leadership**

In coastal Sibulan, there were also larger kin-based clusters, consisting of several house groups belonging to the same family, and more loosely defined ‘clan’-like

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110 Among Cebuano speakers in the Central Visayas, *amahan sa banay* or ‘father of the family’ refers to a family group leader. *Inahan sa banay* or ‘mother of the family’ is more often used in the case of widowhood. These expressions refer to both heads of households and heads of family groups. *Kinamagulangan* refers to the oldest member of a group or family. *Haligi sa banay* is another term for family and clan father.

The *pinakamatanda* in Fegan’s study of a peasant political family refers to a similar figure: “an adult, married male who has grown children, is head of his own household, and can speak for it in public affairs because his father is dead or politically retired” (1993: 49).
formations. These had taken shape over time by intermarriage between families residing in the same hamlet or larger area and through incorporation of newcomers. These extended family groups and broader ‘clan’-like formations provide the basis of lumad identity and leadership. Influential brokers and leaders at the neighbourhood level ‘always’ come from families with lumad status.

In Amio, the members of the lumad Parena, Calumpong and Galima families, along with the Oloriz family who are considered to be ‘lumad sa bay-bay’ (among the first to settle onto the beach), together constituted a large kin-based neighbourhood cluster. They had intermarried and were able to trace common ancestry. There were twenty-five households with a lumad family name in Amio beach, or about one quarter of all households. However, since several daughters within these lumad families had married men from elsewhere, built their houses in their parents’ place and some of their children had also established their own families in Amio, the total number of households closely associated with this kin-based neighbourhood cluster of lumads was higher, around forty of the total number of about one hundred households in the hamlet. As new generations of offspring households from the first generation of uxurilocal households establish themselves in Amio, they may either start losing their status as lumad or, as I will show below and argue has been the case with the Oloriz family, be able to attach their family name to territory with lumad status.

Kaliwatan is the Cebuano term for a clan. In anthropology, unlike in common use, a clan refers to unilineal descent groups associated with mythical ancestors. The use of the term ‘clan’ here does not refer to a matrilineal or patrilineal descent group type of social organisation.

The Parena and Oloriz families were larger than the Calumpong and Galima families in terms of number of households. The Dalope family, originally from Dumaguete, had also married into lumad families in Amio and obtained solid long-term settler status, but were not directly involved in neighbourhood leadership activities during the period of fieldwork and was by my key informants not understood to be lumad in Amio. Another family, Caballero, had also solid long-term settler status and had married into lumad families, but they, too, was not seen as lumad. No one with a Caballero family name acted as a neighbourhood lider and influential broker. Exact boundary drawing and definitions are, of course, highly contested, as I will show later in the chapter.
Some house group leaders from lumad families are more actively involved in inter-house group leadership. The terms used to refer to such inter-house group leaders were, apart from the barangay captain who operates at a higher level, pangulo sa katilingban (‘head of the community/society’), pangulo sa purok (head of the hamlet) or pangulo sa dapit (head of the place). Dako-dako sa grupo was another expression used to refer to such a leader. Many used the term lider, which I will also use to describe these figures of ‘informal’ authority in inter-house group relations and neighbourhood affairs.\textsuperscript{113}

A local lider granted prestige and authority by wider segments of the beach dwelling community is referred to as masaligang lider, a trusted leader (from the root-word salig – to trust) and masandigang lider, someone to lean on, someone supportive (from the root word sandig – to lean). It is a person who is mature, respected and well-known, being, ideally, accessible, understandable, and having good intentions in trying to help others to improve their lives, get access to dwelling space and means to make a living. The ideal neighbourhood lider is, like the “village baknang” described by Pertierra, “willing to compromise or be persuaded by the overall merits of a particular plea or dispute” (Pertierra 1991: 259). A good lider will also remind neighbours (kasilinganan) of their duties and mobilise people for various purposes. The broader meaning of masaligang lider refers to a person who in addition to moral authority has the capability

\textsuperscript{113} In Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner’s classic study of “The dynamics of power in a Philippine municipality” (1963), the lider was a person who utilised his following during political campaigns, doing the footwork for the mayoral candidates. The meaning of the term lider was in Hulo quite different from the meaning of the English ‘leader’ – a head. The lider was primarily a follower of someone else, a political candidate. It was these candidates who used the term lider when they referred to persons in the barangay who had a sizeable following (ibid.: 41, footnote 16). Given the focus on election politics, patron-client ties and the alliance model analysed at the level of the municipality, this aspect of the role of the neighbourhood leader makes sense. In Sibulan, the meaning of the term lider refers to the head of a group or association. It is people in the neighbourhood who use this term to refer to their leader. Although the neighbourhood lider in coastal Sibulan, like the pinakamatanda in Fegan’s study, is a person who represents the family and neighbourhood in “serious disputes, political faction-making and in matters relating to the wider state” (1993: 49), my emphasis is less on election politics and the factions which are made to win them and, in this chapter, more on ‘internal neighbourhood relations’ and some key distinctions among ‘barangay people.’ I will say more on ‘state-community’ relations in Chapters Seven and Eight.
to get things done.\textsuperscript{114} This capability, I suggest, is partly a result of being a member of a family with \textit{lumad} settler status, typically a somewhat better-off branch of a larger local kin group, typically a house group which has better access to productive resources and markets than their supporters. In the case of place-based community leaders, their emphasis is primarily on the livelihood dimension, broadly understood, that links the ‘village regulars’ or people of the neighbourhood community – \textit{mga katawhan sa katilingban} – to the \textit{lider}, where kinship, clan, patron-client ties and other relationships are drawn on to provide some level of protection, assistance, bring house groups together to solve common problems, claim resources and define the appropriate use of coastal space.

A neighbourhood \textit{lider} is an important ‘broker.’\textsuperscript{115} In one sense, a neighbourhood \textit{lider} is a broker of a wider range than more specific brokers. There are many names for a broker (\textit{masyador, kristo, yamador}, etc.). A \textit{yamador} (from the Spanish \textit{llamador}) is a caller, the person who calls on others. The expression also refers to a Barker, doorknocker and messenger. The person who negotiates on behalf of a group of local fishermen with an external fish buyer is, to take one example, referred to as \textit{yamador}. A \textit{yamador} broker deals in regard to labour contracts and fish, copra and \textit{bangus} fry trade, seeking to influence the terms of trade, or mobilise people for various events or tasks, drawing on their network of connections. When I use the expression \textit{lumad} broker, this is a broker from a \textit{lumad} or \textit{lumad}-like family in Sibulan who is intimately involved in hamlet negotiations. The number of people they negotiate for and from whom they get

\textsuperscript{114} Thanks to Aileen May Paguntalan Mijares and Noelyn Dano for helping me with the interpretation of the meaning of \textit{sinaligan} and \textit{sandigan}.

\textsuperscript{115} The difference between brokers and patrons is not always clear. A broker can act as patron and vice versa. Furthermore, a patron is in some context just one of several clients of a higher-ranking person. Those who have direct control over and can dispose of first order resources (such as land, jobs, specialised knowledge and funds) are in Boissevain’s terminology referred to as patrons. Persons who have strategic contacts with those who are in control over first order resources are called brokers (1974: 147-8). Those who control first order resources are well placed to assist a person to become a successful broker (ibid.: 154). Second order resources can be converted into first order resources, such as property, political office and better employment (ibid.: 162).
support varies depending on the issue, context and the authority of the person involved. In contrast to other kinds of brokers, lumad brokers are household heads who utilise lumad status to access authority, productive resources and means of exchange and rely on the support of neighbours, both kin and non-kin, lumad and non-lumad, to build up a following. The lumad brokers in this analysis sometimes act as smaller-scale patrons. Ariana Calumpong Parena, the woman who was the main buyer of fish caught by Amio fishermen, was a member of a lumad family with a long history of acting as brokers and leaders in the neighbourhood where she grew up. She represented a better-off branch of an extended family with lumad status. It was not accidental that it was she who became a successful fish trader in the locality. In cases where it is obvious that the person who brokers deals acts on behalf of an inter-house group, and not more narrowly for themselves, their own household or house group, I use the term neighbourhood lider.

The attention I pay to neighbourhood leaders and lumad brokers reflects my conviction that lumad status and attachment to neighbourhoods have become more important to many people in peri-urban Sibulan in recent times. I also want to highlight a difference of emphasis from the local leader often found in the literature.

**Local power relations: A difference of emphasis**

The neighbourhood lider has some resemblance to the role of the ‘traditional patron’ as outlined by Scott and Kerkvliet (1977). The neighbourhood lider has a multifaceted set of relations with his or her followers. However, where Scott and Kerkvliet defined the patron-client tie to be a relationship between “non-relatives” in a context of sharp stratification in landownership, in Sibulan it is through descent, siblingship, marriage,

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116 Patron-client relationships are per definition different from personal bonds between equals, relations of impersonal contract, formal relations of authority, bonds based purely on coercion, and less “culturally sanctioned” personal dyadic bonds, such as between a gang leader and his men, a money lender and a borrower, an official and a citizen, and an employer and employee, all of which are limited to a single category of reciprocity, relationships which are limited to “functionally specific role categories” (Scott and Kerkvliet 1977: 441-443).
co-residence and common interest in livelihood and land that neighbourhood leaders and their supporters are defined together.

The relative strength of lumad family groups in affecting government policy and practise at the local level depends on their historical and ongoing relationships to power-brokers and elite families outside of the local fishing and neighbourhood communities where they live. This aspect of local power relations has received considerable attention in the literature on lowland Philippine communities. As elsewhere in the Philippines, in coastal Sibulan, political candidates have been keen to court house group leaders, lumad brokers and neighbourhood leaders for electoral support. They have utilised compadrazgo (godparenthood) ties, tenancy contracts and monthly honorariums as fish wardens. They have also channelled smaller amounts of money for pig dispersal or micro-credit programs through government-accredited people’s organisations (fishermen, women and youth). Provisioning of water pumps, sanitation facilities, health services, education, access to employment and markets, legal advice and verbal guarantees of various kinds are directed at these neighbourhood and house group leaders.

Elite political families find that there is much more to be gained by sponsoring weddings of some of the members of large lumad families, seeking to gain political influence over their numerous children, kin, and dependents. “Insignificant families,” Brian Fegan has noted, “will have few if any higher-class kumpadres” (1993: 50). Dominant local families, “act as brokers who trade lower class votes in return for favours they extract from politicians” (Fegan 1983: 39, referring to Hollnsteiner 1963).

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117 Fegan (1993) and Susan Russell (1997) have both highlighted the importance of the family, in particular the male sibling group, as a crucial intermediary political and economic unit at the barangay and municipal levels. Fegan argues that prestige competition between family groups constitute a central dynamic in village politics in the Philippines. His example is of a peasant political family in a municipality in Luzon who were linked to some of the first people to settle in the area. A male sibling group within this family acted as “political entrepreneurs.” To win elections and control territory, they found support among “kin, affines, kumpadres, barkada, neighbours, clients and friends” (ibid.: 43). In addition, they relied on outside backing and a personal political style which involved bravery, bribery and violence. Russell provides an example of a political family involved in purse seine fishing, also this a male sibling group linked to some of the founding fathers of the Tagalog community where she did fieldwork. This male sibling group was able to win barangay captainship and exert considerable influence in local affairs (1997).
and Lande 1964). As a result, factionalism and inter-personal rivalry within neighbourhoods and between members of the same family groups can be intense. I will stress a different aspect of such relationships. While local leaders mobilise and activate social networks to get people to sign up for government programs and vote in certain ways, I will in later chapters show that they also ignore such calls for collaboration when their own interests or the interests of other core members of the association they lead are threatened by new regulations.

Lumad brokers who came to prominence largely from their engagement in the small-scale fishing and beach community of Sibulan during the 1970s and 1980s have in several cases not incurred a high degree of dependence on political leaders at the municipal and higher levels for their own economic security. I do not want to exaggerate the importance of external links to outside patrons and governing elites in bolstering strong neighbourhood leaders. The coastline has provided space for several families to establish themselves with a higher level of independence from municipal, provincial and other elites than what some of the literature on patron-client ties and political factionalism suggests. Nevertheless, lumad brokers do engage municipal and barangay leaders to re-negotiate and help make 'flexible' the application of various ordinances and laws, to make them more accommodating to circumstances in the locality. They will also call for stricter enforcement of some laws. Neighbourhood leaders negotiate with government officials, outside brokers, partners and allies of various kinds. They also mediate in serious disputes and intervene to defend followers who are threatened by others. The outcome is influenced by the relative strength and solidarity of support the lider has in a neighbourhood.

Some of these leaders organise fiesta celebrations, ceremonies and rituals where food and drinks are consumed by members of several house groups in the neighbourhood. Some neighbourhood leaders are able to mediate divergent opinions and forge a sense of solidarity within a neighbourhood. Most neighbourhood leaders are involved in these
activities not to become barangay captains or to join the ranks of the town elites. They take an interest – and are enmeshed – in house group and neighbourhood affairs. This is where they spend most of their time and engage in livelihood activities and socialisation. It is from their intimate knowledge of and involvement in their own neighbourhoods they draw much of their authority. Despite there being some difference between the neighbourhood lider and many of their followers in terms of economic wealth and social prestige, these lider are still barangay people who often find themselves to be ‘in the same boat’ or who operate – in important ways – within the same social field as their supporters. They champion localism, a form of association with place where family, livelihood and community relations are reproduced and evolve in significant ways within a neighbourhood context. Extravagant display of wealth and class distinctions is not part of the style of neighbourhood lider. I thus distinguish between a neighbourhood lider and an agalon (boss or employer) since the latter does not have to have lumad status and is in terms of this function alone not involved in multiplex relationships with neighbours. An agalon, furthermore, is a class-based concept. The economic activities of neighbourhood lider are understood primarily as livelihood and are seen as different from capitalist business. Elected officials at higher levels, town elites and cosmopolitans of various kinds are also taking an interest in the ‘local,’ but do so often with different intentions in mind or as persons who relate in some respects very differently to place and local community (see Chapter Five and Six).

At the same time, one common source of tension arises from local lider who are accused of nurturing relationships with rich or influential outsiders at the expense of the people they are supposed to represent, persons who do not prove their concern sufficiently for their own family and close neighbours. Being intimately involved in dense, multiplex and long-standing neighbourhood relations, serious accusations of not wanting to help one’s neighbours can have devastating effects on a local lider. This tension is embodied in the lider as person and comes to expression at specific moments.

118 The barangay coastal community lider and purse seine owners described by Susan Russell had a stronger desire to join the town elites (1997).
Similarly, lumad brokers who rely to some extent on continued control over and access to local resources to sustain their prestige in the locality can also be vulnerable to accusations of being stingy or not wanting to share. The relative strength of neighbourhood communities in holding their liders and lumad brokers accountable, however, varies over time and depends on context.

Another point I want to stress here is that settler groups’ ability to consolidate and define the ‘local’ is stronger among families with lumad status than among families with a weaker status as ‘people from here.’ Non-lumad house groups in Sibulan were unable to promote their own heads to become principal spokespersons in matters pertaining to the wider neighbourhood. The combined effect of an expectation of virilocality and the practise of tracing family names through the male line is a factor weakening the status of male in-laws in neighbourhood politics and, ultimately, plays into the classification of family groups as lumad and langyaw. A neighbourhood lider “is always lumad” and, according to the same male source, “cannot be a woman.” This aspect of neighbourhood political and residential status is an important power-factor in coastal Sibulan. I will return to this theme in the last sections of this chapter.

During the period of fieldwork, the number of neighbourhood liders in coastal Amio varied between one and four depending on context or issue. There was one barangay councillor who lived in the area, Isko Calumpong, who was the main character representing coastal dwellers in Amio at the level of the barangay and municipal government. Apart from being a councillor and part-time hook-and-line fisherman, Isko owned 1000 square meters of nipa palms. When the municipal government required all coastal dwellers to establish ‘septic tanks,’ Isko was the one who obtained material from the government for construction (old rubber tires and cement). He also

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119 Isko’s sister, Ariana Parena, was the wife of Danilo Parena, a son of Zarina Oloriz and Anton Parena (see Figure 2.2 or 5.1). Isko’s house lot was about one hundred and fifty meters from the beach.

120 Toilets were made by digging a whole in the ground large enough for three rubber tires to be stacked on top of each other. Not all households were given materials, in particular recent arrivals who had
had authority to mediate in some of the conflicts within the hamlet. The most prominent *liders* of the fishing community of Amio beach were two members of the Oloriz family. Jun Oloriz Jr. was the president of Amio Small-Scale Fishermen’s Association and Argel Oloriz was a municipal *bantay dagat* (sea warden). In one example of their community involvement, they lobbied for support from the municipal government and mobilised fishermen in the neighbourhood to make a channel through the coral reef to improve their access to the open ocean during low tide. I suggest that in several beach dwelling neighbourhoods, it is only in recent times that *liders* with a background as ‘mode 2’ fishermen have emerged to prominence. In Chapter Eight, I will return to how they have ceased the opportunity to claim leadership in the local fishing community through active participation in internationally funded coastal resource management projects.

Although he lived in what coastal dwellers refer to as ‘upper’ Amio and had never been a fisherman, Loloy Partosa, a long-serving barangay captain of Amio121 held considerable popularity among some of the larger resident groups of Amio beach. In the 1950s and 1960s, the father of ‘Loloy,’ as mentioned in Chapter Two, was a foreman in the sugarcane fields in Amio, working for a Spanish *hacendero*. ‘Loloy’ had a reputation for being approachable and also helpful in providing assistance to some poorer familjes (credit, funeral assistance, advice). He had relatively good knowledge of families living along the coast and maintained distant kin, *compadrazgo* and/or personal friendship relations with several house group leaders. He knew much about the history of land tenure in the barangay. In several cases, he had been asked to give approval (informal consent) for newcomers to build native-style houses in designated areas by neighbourhood *liders*. He had also given evidence in a land court case to support the

settled on the lot of a family with non-*lumad* status, some of whom rented space. Isko and others did not consider them to be part of the community. A rich beach house owner lobbied the municipal government and sponsored money for the materials (see Chapter Six).

121 ‘Loloy’ Partosa was barangay captain for several terms (more than twenty years), until he got sick in 2006. Isko Calumpong, who was barangay councillor number one, became acting barangay captain of Amio until the October 2007 election. ‘Loloy’ did not run for captainship, as his health condition was still causing some trouble, but was instead elected barangay councilor. The newly elected barangay captain of Amio in 2007 lived up by the highway and coastal dwellers had very little knowledge of him.
position of a lumad family subject to eviction. While this former barangay captain had the status as lider in many coastal dwellers’ eyes, a barangay captain who does not live in the hamlet and spends little time mingling with the residents in the neighbourhood is somewhat different from the lider I want to highlight here.

As in ‘Hulo’ in the late 1950s, no one leader or set of leaders were in command of the loyalties of nearly all the coastal dwellers of Sibulan (Hollnsteiner 1963: 175). In the literature, this has been interpreted as a sign of ‘fragmentation’ in leadership as a result of modernity, based on an assumption of a very different pre-colonial type of leader (the datu). Racelis Hollnsteiner discovered in her study of the dynamics of power in the municipality of Hulo both traditional political and civic leaders, those who “draw their powers from kinship, compadrazgo, and the workings of hiya and the utang na loob,” and “the emergence of a new...professional-entrepreneurial elite which is slowly dislodging the traditional elites from their positions of power and prestige” (ibid.: vii-viii). As society becomes more complex and the division of labour increases, leaders with specialised competencies and interests emerge. This has occurred also in Sibulan, but in the kind of analysis I undertake here, of an ongoing process of neighbourhood and place-based community formation, I find that neighbourhood líderes continue to be enmeshed in and maintain multiplex relationship with their immediate neighbours and suggest that there is an ongoing production of such figures. The following provides a useful example of a typical neighbourhood lider.

A lumad broker and neighbourhood lider

Introduced in the previous chapter as skilful and active fishermen utilising larger fish traps, many male members of the Polido family in Talak had (re)defined themselves as mananagat. For them, fishing was both an important source of livelihood and common identification. Yet their involvement in neighbourhood affairs and attachment to place

122 Mary Racelis uses the concept “situational leadership” to describe the phenomenon: the support, competence and interests of a person who operates as a leader in one domain of social life is often not transposable to other sets of activities or domains (1963: 174).
went far beyond fishing. Being a large sibling group of senior adults living next to each other on the same house lot, as well as having solid, uncontested lumad status in the wider neighbourhood ("they have always lived here"), the branch of the Polido family analysed here had developed and maintained status as an influential family along the shoreline.

In Chapter Two I suggested that there looks to have been a stronger cohort of locals in Talak than in Amio and Minaba. Without large-scale plantations, few migrant workers settled in Talak. The families who had settled close to the shoreline of Talak were extended kin of titleholders of agricultural fields. With deteriorating conditions in agriculture and improved conditions for earning money from fishing in the 1960s and 1970s, coastal dwellers who specialised more in fishing began to distinguish themselves more clearly from their landowning agricultural kin, but maintained a sedentary or ‘mode 1’ form of fishing and tended not to host migrant fishermen.

Figure 4.2: Polido women working at home

Polido women making nipa shingles, copra, pushing the ‘trawl’ to catch bangus fry and drying rice on the beach.
Figure 4.3: The Polido family in Talak

Apart from being a skilful mananagat with ownership of three outrigger canoes and several fish traps, Erwin, 56 years old in 2006, had been a barangay councillor for thirty-one years. Erwin was one of those men who maintained an extensive network of contacts, both horizontal and vertical, stretching along the coast, to the municipal hall,
to buyers of copra and bangus fry, to beachfront property owners, as well as up into the mountains to get hold of wood for making outrigger canoes. His wife, Terecita, held the position of barangay population development officer and, together with Erwin, was the local stockholder of bangus fry. They bought fry from trawlers living in the area—many of whom were relatives but also non-relative trawlers came to their house. Apart from selling fish, Teresita ran a small sari-sari store, raised some pigs, chickens and doves and, during planting and harvesting, worked in the rice fields of a relative. She utilised beach space in Talak for drying rice. Terecita and her older sister, Presca, who was married to Erwin’s older brother, Rolando, made nipa shingles which they sold for five pesos per piece. The Polido family had plenty of nipa palms growing in the back of their house lot. They also produced copra four times per year from coconut trees they owned in the neighbourhood. Rolando had usufruct rights to the coconut trees along the road, planted on the house lots of several of his younger siblings. He tapped these trees for tuba (fermented coconut sap) and sold it to a nephew who ran a small store in the

123 Erwin was the caretaker of the beachfront property across the road from his house. The house was owned by a rich Dumaguete City based family. On the property, there was a freshwater whirlpool bathtub. Erwin cleaned the tub, swept the ground and looked after the property.

124 Her key areas of work as a development officer were family planning, household surveys and water facilities.

125 Terecita and Presca came originally from Samboan, a coastal municipality in southeastern Cebu. They moved to Talak in the early 1970s, when they got married to Rolando and Erwin. Terecita and her sister had been thoroughly incorporated into not only the household of Erwin and Rolando, but were recognised as full members of the Polido sibling group in Talak. It was as full members of this group they could obtain a respected position in the wider neighbourhood.

It was interesting to me to notice that Terecita and Presca never said much to me about their own parents and place of origin. Their focus seemed to be, as Carsten noticed among in-marrying migrants to Langkawi, on the present and future, on nurturing relationships with their new families, and not with their ancestors and places of origin. Both Terecita and Presca did, however, go home for the annual town fiesta celebration, funerals and on other occasional visits. But they were no longer expected to move back to their place of origin and did not maintain close relationships with more than a few people there. Some in-marrying spouses stop maintaining a relationship with their place of origin, even with their own parents. This was largely a question of poverty, I was told, as there are expenses involved with maintaining these relationships, for communication, transportation, hosting visitors, bringing gifts, and so forth.
neighbourhood. Clearly, they were more than fishermen. Through their control of a broad-based local resource base, along with fishing and income from elsewhere, they were able to use their lumad status to perpetuate their position as an influential family in the wider neighbourhood.

Both Rolando and Erwin were leaders in the fishing community surrounding their own neighbourhood. Meetings with municipal officials and extension workers were held at their place. Being more outspoken and maintaining a larger social network, Erwin was more active as a neighbourhood leader than his older brother, Rolando, at the time of fieldwork. There seemed to be people visiting his house constantly. Erwin would at times spend money generously in the neighbourhood, in particular by offering drinks and inviting people into his house for snacks. Visitors came not only to sell bangus fry or buy fish, nipa shingles, copra, or snacks from their small sari-sari store, but to talk about this and that. Some of the topics I heard discussed related to fishing and marine resource regulation, ownership claims to the beach and ‘right of way’ issues down the beach and along the beach, partnership with investors in bobo fishing, negotiations with buyers of fish, bangus fry and copra, and fiesta preparations and election politics. Erwin was also asked to be the sponsor of some baptisms and weddings. However, he had limited financial resources. He was far from rich.

Although the many neighbourhood resources upon which members of the Polido house group depended produced little income, they provided nevertheless considerable livelihood security. Erwin’s household was somewhat better-off economically than his siblings, but Erwin and Terecita were keen to express equality and sameness, identifying with being ‘barangay people’ or ‘people of the community’ (mga katawhan sa katlingban). They drew authority and respect from kin and friends in the locality.

126 Eder makes a similar point in his analysis of fishers and farmers in San Vicente, Palawan. He criticises the tendency in the literature to analyse fishing in isolation from other coastal economic activities, including farming. Fishing maps onto a wider field of economic activities. These activities do not merely co-exist, but there are oftentimes important interdependencies between them (Eder 2003).
through their involvement and commitment to place-based, family organised livelihoods and leadership activities in the wider neighbourhood.

A commonly invoked distinction by *liders* in coastal Sibulan was the one between ‘*lumad sa bay-bay*’ – the original people along the beach – versus ‘*lumad sa upper,*’ the ‘agriculturalists’ who lived further inland or up by the highway. Erwin said of another community leader and barangay councillor in Talak: “*Dili coastal, lumad sa upper*” (he is not from the coastal; he is *lumad* in ‘upper’ Talak). Erwin implied that *liders sa bay-bay* are a different category from agricultural and town-based *liders*. He also knew much more about families living along the coastline of Sibulan than people living in ‘upper.’ Being a buyer of *bangus* fry and active in the fishing community, he had daily interaction mostly with other coastal dwellers. He quickly listed the families which he considered to be *lumad sa bay-bay* in barangay Amio, Minaba and Talak. In the entire barangay of Talak, there are five or six groups or family names that were commonly recognised to be *lumad*. Three of them had members who were committed fishermen and lived close to the shoreline. The other *lumad* groups in Talak have been – and to some extent still were – closely linked to agricultural landownership and were not part of the fishing community. In addition to a self-identification as *mananagat*, one interrelated reason for talking about the coastal as a different political space from the ‘upper’ relates to a history of experienced bias in terms of representation at the municipal level, an agrarian bias, stemming from the fact that many of those who do occupy influential positions in the local government come historically from families that owned more land and had obtained higher education. The English term ‘upper’ is used along with the Cebuano *sa unahan, sa ibabaw* and *sa itaas* (above). *Adunahan* means moneyed or rich. Apart from *bay-bay* (beach), coastal dwellers refer to their place as being *sa ubos* (below). *Magpaubos* means ‘to humiliates’ and *manunubos* refers to an emancipator. That beach dwelling populations feel they have experienced some level of

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127 These terms were unknown to younger generations. *Magpailob* is another term for ‘to humiliate.’ *Magluluwas* is another term for ‘to emancipate.’ Another term for ‘emancipator’ is the Spanish *Salvador.*

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discrimination in relation to agricultural landowners shines through in the way these terms were used. Erwin invoked a spatial representation of social hierarchy, but at the same time carved out domains where he could act as a figure of authority and build up a following.

While Erwin and his family still recognised kinship and *compadrazgo* ties with some of the ‘agriculturalists,’ relationships that were activated from time to time (rice planting and harvesting, sponsorship of baptisms and weddings, alliances in election politics), these were in many contexts dormant, and sometimes also viewed in a negative light. Erwin often said that the “agriculturalists at the municipal” do not know anything about fishing and marine environments, in particular in relation to coastal and marine regulations.

Being ‘related to almost everyone here’ and belonging to a family with pioneer settler status seem necessary conditions for establishing authority and power to act as a neighbourhood *lider*. Charisma, reputation, performative skills and other personal attributes also come into play, but do not by themselves establish and sustain a leadership position of authority and influence in this kind of place-based community.

I have stressed the importance of the house group as a crucial entity in organising livelihoods and providing security. I have described how descent, affinity and the sibling group play into the formation of a ‘relational core’ that operates as a unit within place-based coastal community. Kinship, co-residence and identification with place as community strengthen or intensify exchanges among localised groups. Sharing within a household and between members of a house group is more intense than between members of different house groups. Beyond the household and house group, a wider set of relations are also crucial. Cooperative sibling groups are important in reproducing and re-defining the family within a wider set of neighbourhood relations. It is at this level *lumad* status takes on importance, being used not only as a resource for solving
day-to-day problems of sustenance, but to claim leadership and exert influence at the level of the wider neighbourhood.

**Who depends on a *lumad* broker?**

In coastal Sibulan, there are many households with *lumad* status who are not themselves active as brokers or are unable to capitalise on their pioneer settler status in trading or other economic activities. The argument here is not that *lumad* status in and of itself generates economic wellbeing, land tenure security or authority to act as effective brokers and leaders in a locality. I will in this section show how *lumad* status is important also among poorer segments of the coastal dwelling population, but also point out that such status must be expressed and defended to have value. The kin-based house group, consisting ideally of a cooperative set of siblings and supportive parents, is a key entity in establishing *lumad* status and for drawing privileges from such status. However, some house and sibling groups look to have fragmented as a result of a combination of factors, such as poverty and distress migration for work, deaths, outmarriage, land tenure insecurity and conflict between kin.

With fluctuating and generally declining availability of marine resources in recent decades, along with a growing need for cash to pay for food, transportation, education, housing and new consumer goods, many coastal households relying on a combination of less skilful and low-capital small-scale fishing and lowly paid and unstable sources of income outside of fishing (petty-trade, housekeeping, tricycle driving and construction work) have had little room for any significant improvement in living conditions. This observation rings true both for *lumads* and non-*lumads*.

Based on household survey data from the coastline of Amio in the last quarter of 2005 and first quarter of 2006, excluding ‘rich’ and ‘middle-class’ newcomers, *lumad* households had an average annual income of about 125,000 in 2005/2006. Non-*lumads* had an average annual income of approximately 80,000 pesos. About one quarter of the *lumad* households had an annual income below 75,000 pesos (7 of 30). Slightly more
than half of the non-lumad households fell into this same lower bracket (20 of 37).\textsuperscript{128} 
Cash shortage is prevalent. The dependence on lumad brokers and neighbourhood lider stems partly from the instability of household and house group sources of sustenance. There are marked seasonal and lunar cycle fluctuations in fish catch and income. Many need to raise loans or buy on credit, especially during the lean fishing months or during periods of little paid employment among family members. At times, entire house groups do not have enough resources to secure their daily needs (palaliton).\textsuperscript{129} Even the better-off household within such a group can at times be severely indebted due to an accidental death, medical expenses, and so forth. By nurturing good relationships with a lumad broker family who runs a relatively successful sari-sari (mixed goods store) in the neighbourhood, or by selling fish at a below market rate to a lumad broker who operates as a fish buyer, as the example of Ariana in the previous chapter illustrates, poorer coastal dwellers have someone to ask for assistance or help if they run out of food, money or other resources of necessity.

My intention here is not to exaggerate the importance of lumad brokers and neighbourhood lider in providing help and assistance to dependent households and family members. Lumad brokers and neighbourhood lider do not have a monopoly on the provisioning of services. Both ‘regular lumads’ and those who have arrived at a later time and have more distant or no kin-relations with previous settler groups are not only, or even primarily, relying on lumad brokers for help. Coastal dwellers in peri-urban Sibulan rely on many friends, relatives, partners, allies and mediators to access productive resources, jobs and money. They may depend on non-lumad business owners, employers and government agencies to access land, jobs, emergency loans,

\textsuperscript{128} About 20 percent of the lumad households included in the survey had members who had entered into more of a middle-class position and they pulled up the average annual income figure a bit. Only 10.8 per cent of langyaw households had an estimated annual income of 125,000 pesos or more. 
According to the Family Income and Expenditure Survey, the average annual household (or family) income for the Central Visayas was 101,000 pesos in 2006.
For more information, see Appendix B: Lumad and langyaw household income.
health and education. Some men in the 'langyaw' category living on a beach lot in Amio have had relatively stable access to construction jobs in the wider Dumaguete area. One member of the group had worked for the same foreman for more than a decade. He acted as a mediator for other neighbours living on the same house lot, helping them get access to construction jobs. Also a few households who had a poor economic standing had been able to send a family member overseas and had become somewhat better-off economically as they received remittances. Coastal dwellers draw on a wider network of connections and depend on lower-class labour migration. At the same time, many also find that beach house owners, employers and partners in economic enterprise come and go. Lumad broker households tend to provide more continuity and maintain more multifaceted relations with many coastal dwellers in this area. When it comes to residential status and tenure security, wider community recognition as 'locals' or 'people from here' is a more contentious issue which requires good connections with and, if possible, incorporation into, long-term settled lumad families or, alternatively, and more problematically without lumad broker support, strong backing from an absentee landowner or governing elite.

When a young couple establishes a new household, it is of some importance to belong to a supportive house group. Young, newly established households tend to have a high degree of dependence on other family members (parents, older siblings, younger siblings who are single and remit money from work elsewhere, aunts, uncles, cousins, godparents, and so forth). This is true for both lumad and langyaw households. The family members who group together on the same house lot share responsibilities for securing livelihood and to help each other out. Parents and older siblings are keen to encourage newly established households to become self-reliant and better contributors to the house group. They also help aging parents who are no longer able to work. But not all house groups are equally supportive and resourceful. Some lumad sibling groups, often poorer branches of a lumad family, have been under considerable fragmentation.

129 Palaliton refers to the daily needs - the things a family buys and gets from nature to sustain themselves (rice, corn, fish, vegetables, and so on).
pressure, many of their members being subject to distress diversification. They have taken up very poorly paid house keeping jobs and casual work through labour migration and some have settled more permanently in other places as a result of these pressures. The remaining members’ bargaining position within the neighbourhood then tends to weaken, being less capable of using their family name to claim better access to various resources in the locality, secure land rights and enter into leadership positions. The children of Nolito Parena, one of the ‘mode 2’ fishermen mentioned in the previous chapter, fall into this category of relatively poor *lumads* who have struggled with establishing a strong house group. Here I recount the history of how they established themselves as a house group on Amio beach and some of the challenges they faced.

Nolito Parena married Leticia in 1969, when he met her on a fishing trip to Siaton. Leticia settled in her husband’s place. When Leticia moved to Amio, she first lived together with Nolito and his mother, Myrna Parena, on a house lot next to a rice field about two hundred meters from the beach. Nolito’s older siblings settled elsewhere for work and marriage during the 1970s. They did this partly because of landlessness in Amio. The house lot where Myrna lived was owned by a family from Dumaguete. The titleholder of this land did not want the formation of a new house group on his land. Another factor leading to fragmentation of the sibling group was some tensions between this branch of the Parena family and the one with tenancy contract to rice fields (see Chapter Five).

Nolito and Leticia settled onto the beach in the early 1980s, starting what was to become a new house group. When Nolito died in an accident in 1987, thirty-seven years of age, Leticia suddenly found herself in a very difficult position, being a widow (*balo*) alone with five children. There were cousins of Nolito living on the same stretch of the beach, but Leticia did not have the close brother/sister-in-law relationships which potentially turn affines into full membership in a *lumad* family. For an in-marrying spouse, the process of incorporation takes place largely through intimate association with his or her partner, parents-in-law and co-residing siblings. Having adopted the Parena surname was not enough to feel at home and be a full member of a wider family group in the neighbourhood.

During the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s, Leticia’s household had a high degree of dependence on assistance from better-off relatives in the neighbourhood. However, as the intensity of sharing tends to be much higher between members of a house group than between house groups, Leticia and her children continued to face considerable difficulty in securing a very minimum standard of living. Leticia was a shy person and did not have the time and other resources to act as a strong house
group leader. Her household needed someone to assert their *lumad* status, act as their leader and keep the house group together. They also had to re-assert their status as rightful owners of the land they lived on as the beach was now beginning to become recognised to have high real estate value.

When her husband died, Leticia had three sons at seven, three and one. She also had two teenage daughters. Mary Lyn, the first child of Leticia and Nolito, was seventeen years of age and could potentially have taken on a stronger household provider role, but she was herself a mother with an infant and was thus incapable of freeing up time to find work elsewhere. Rose, the second oldest daughter of Leticia, would be the one who eventually took on the role as a house group leader, but for now she was still too young, being an unmarried fourteen-year old daughter. One part of the solution to their precarious situation was to take Rose out of high school to look after her younger brothers while Leticia took up a job as *katabang*.

In the early 1990s, Rose went back to finish high school as a working student. She obtained a job at the first beach hotel that was established in Sibulan, Panorama. In 1998, with a high school degree, she was able to obtain a job as a salesgirl in the City. In 1999 she married a *lumad* fisherman from Talak, Ryan Polido, and became a mother the next year. Ryan accepted to live in Rose’s place because she insisted on staying with her mother and siblings to help them. They needed her there. In 2002, she obtained a housekeeper job for a rich newcomer family close to her own house in Amio. This job allowed her to spend much more time at home and still have a relatively stable source of income. With a husband with good skills in fishing and ownership of two boats combined with Rose’s own income and educational level, she was now in a position to act as a house group leader. During fieldwork, this house group was still very poor, however. (See Appendix 4.2: A poorer branch of a *lumad* family).

While the number of livelihood contributors in this house group had increased and the sibling group cooperated relatively well, there was great demand on Rose and Ryan to share rice and other necessities. Marlon, the oldest brother of Rose, and his partner, Mary Joy, inherited the *nipa* hut of Rose and Ryan when the latter built a small brick house in 2004. From time to time, Ryan, who ‘owned’ a motorised *pamboat*,\(^\text{130}\) gave his brothers-in-law free towing to fishing grounds located further away. Such towing normally entitles the tower to one-third of the catch of the towed fisherman. Rene, the youngest brother of Rose, used the outrigger canoe of Ryan when Ryan was not using it. Ryan also shared his knowledge of fishing with his

\(^{130}\) The *pamboat* was owned by a member of Rose’s employer, but Ryan built the boat, took care of it and could use it whenever he wanted. Once in a while members of the beach house owning family would ask Ryan to take them out for recreational fishing or snorkeling.
brothers-in-law. But there was not a one-way flow of help and assistance. When the other men had ‘luck’ on their fishing trips, they gave some of the fish in exchange for the assistance provided by Rose and Ryan. When Rose was busy working in the beach house, her siblings and older nieces stepped in to help with cooking, feeding the pig, washing clothes, collecting firewood, selling fish and looking after Rose’s daughter.

Many of the members of Rose’s house group relied on credit at the sari-sari store of Olivia Parena, their relative down the road who ran a relatively successful beach cottage rental and sari-sari business (see Chapter Five). Olivia also provided casual jobs for Rose’s brothers and brother-in-law. Although occasional and short-term, these jobs were valued. They were always channelled to regular customers and primarily to relatives in the neighbourhood.

Rose’s older sister, Mary Lyn, had six children in 2006. An aunt in Talak raised two daughters of Mary Lyn to lessen the demand on the household budget. Such fosterage arrangement, known in Cebuano as binuhi, are quite common, especially in situations where a household has a surplus of children and struggles to make ends meet while the household taking on the job of raising the child typically has few or no children of their own and is in a somewhat better economic situation. Mary Lyn’s oldest daughter had married with a man close to Cebu and had her own family there and did not contribute with resources to her mother’s household.

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131 Rose’s brothers had ownership of little fishing gear and only one of them owned an outrigger canoe. Their fishing skills were also somewhat limited as they had been too young to learn fishing from their father by the time he died. The time when young men could embark on successful ‘mode 2’ fishing was over. As single men, they did casual work in the neighbourhood, had occasional jobs elsewhere and went fishing part-time. One had also been on two muro-ami fishing trips. When Rose’s brothers obtained live-in partners, they began to fish on a regular basis. This reflects a broader pattern, a tendency for young men to want to spend time with their barkada and only when they marry or become established with a partner and become fathers do they ‘settle down’ and take up fishing on a more regular basis. Over time, they will learn more fishing techniques and ‘tricks of the trade’ from Ryan.

132 Ryan, too, took on more domestic chores and looked after his daughter when Rose was busy elsewhere. During such periods, Ryan tended to go on fewer and shorter fishing trips. He also did not fish at night as often as he otherwise did. The share consumed of his fish catch increased, to compensate for the help he received from neighbours, but also because the cash income from his wife made it less necessary to sell all of the fish (see appendix 4.2).

133 The members of Olivia’s house group had on average an annual income 3.7 times higher than the members of Rose’s house group.

134 Based on fieldwork on the neighbouring island of Siquijor, Dumont observed that “parents quite commonly sent a child to live with, to be raised by, or to serve as companion to, either aging kin or childless couples” (Dumont 1992: 51).
Being a member of a *lumad* family and having married into another *lumad* family, combined with being a high school graduate, a mother and a house group leader, Rose was able to nurture a wider-reaching network of relations within and across the coastal neighbourhoods of Sibulan. Rose was related by blood or marriage to many of her neighbours in Amio and up the coast to Talak. She also had some close friendship relations (*suod nga higala*) with non-relatives that were important to her. Through casual greetings, unplanned chats and visits, Rose (in particular) maintained and expanded her social network to help the members of her own house group. Apart from some help with immediate livelihood needs, she worked to help them become net contributors to the family group. Her commitment and efforts have been important in constituting a more effective transactional group within a wider set of neighbourhood relations. Despite histories of lower-class labour migration and fragmentation pressure, this house group has over the last few years been able to consolidate their lives on the beach of Amio. In 2006, their house group had sixteen members divided into four households. In 2008, the third brother of Rose returned from work as a guard at an uncle’s scrap dealer business in Manila and joined his siblings in Amio. From this base, it may potentially open up space for some among them to use their *lumad* status not only to obtain help, but to increase their status and exert more influence over wider neighbourhood affairs and, ultimately, improve the conditions under which they seek to realise localism.

This example shows that it is not enough just to be ‘related to almost everyone here’ or to have a *lumad* family name to claim space, secure livelihoods and status within a neighbourhood. Relationships have to be nurtured, and claims to ownership and user rights of house lots and other neighbourhood resources have to be pressed for *lumad* status to have value. These claims gain force through relatively intact, cooperative house and sibling groups, entities into which affines potentially become fully incorporated and obtain status as equals through the myriad of exchanges that take place in house and inter-house group spaces in a neighbourhood.

*Lumad* status is claimed and drawn upon to negotiate a better position for a house group and kinship constellation within a neighbourhood. Being a member of such a kin- and place-based group with *lumad* status is important in terms of land tenure security and access to livelihood sources, including employment\(^\text{135}\) and market exchange in the

\(^{135}\) *Lumads*, as I will show in Chapter Six, are more likely to get jobs as drivers, carpenters, caretakers and ‘helpers’ for rich beach house owners. When the nipa roof of her employer needed fixing, Rose bought
locality. Compared to families with more of a langyaw status, a cooperative lumad family is better able to obtain, hold on to and sell land, and they are also more likely to be accepted as full members of a wider neighbourhood community. But if there are so many potential advantages of being a member of a lumad kin group in a neighbourhood, how is membership restricted? Why don’t these groups expand in all directions given the emphasis on exogamous bilateral kinship and the equality of affines? Apart from the exclusionary effects of tracing a family name patrilineally, the pattern of non-marriage between lumads and settler groups with a ‘poor newcomer’ or langayw status needs commenting. Why did Rose’s brothers not find live-in partners among members of house groups with more of a migrant status in Amio and Minaba? Before I return to the topic of non-marriage between people who live in the same area and have, in many respects, similar socio-economic status in the wider society, I will first give some more information on the family groups with more of a langyaw status who live along the coast in Sibulan.

**Langyaw**

The vast majority of former sugarcane labourers who settled in Amio and Minaba I class into the category langyaw. I hesitate to use this phrase to describe them, however, as most of them were arguably not migrants at all. Many of the children of those who settled in this area more than thirty or forty years ago had formed their own households and never lived in another place. They strongly felt that this was their place and saw themselves as being ‘from here’ (taga dinhi). Even the expression ‘former sugarcane labourers’ gives a misleading description of their work history. Although many of the original members of these settler groups did come to Negros from Cebu Island to find work on sugarcane plantations, many of them had not had these jobs for very long and, in any case, did other kinds of work as well. The offspring of the initial migrant households had never worked on sugarcane plantations. By langyaw I refer to their lack of status as locals as seen from the perspective of those who claim pioneer settler or

shingles from Ryan’s parents in Talak and channeled the carpentry job to her brothers, husband and brother-in-law.
lumad status. It is interesting to notice that after more than forty years of living in coastal Sibulan, such groups were still seen as dili taga dinhi or people who are ‘not from here’ by members of families who claim to be the first people to live in the place. A former barangay captain once said to me, referring to about one hundred households living next to the fishpond in Minaba: “They are not from here. They were the servants of Villegas.” He thus refers to them as former migrant sugarcane workers, people who had come from another island to find work at the plantations, and not lumad.

In Amio, the Sigua family had a similar reputation as the settler groups in Minaba. Raul Sigua and his wife Guadalupe migrated originally from upland Cebu Island to Sta. Catalina, Negros Oriental, around 1960. They worked in sugarcane plantations, logging, and planted and harvested rice and corn as casuals. For several years, Raul’s main employment was as a sawmill operator. As both the logging and sugarcane industries on Negros experienced a sharp contraction, Raul looked for work elsewhere. He asked permission to settle in Amio in 1979. Raul and Guadalupe did not have relatives in Amio, but were given permission to build a house between two Oloriz families, next to the beach. Raul had obtained work on the road that was being built in Amio. Raul and Guadalupe also obtained work in the rice fields. When they were given permission to build a nipa hut, it may initially have been for a temporary period. But as time passed, the newcomers decided to stay and invited other family members to settle next to themselves. Raul did not have fishing skills when he settled in Amio. In 2006, eight of Raul’s and Guadalupe’s ten children lived on the same lot, having their own families.

136 Villegas was one of the prominent hacendero families in the province. The relationship between the settler group and the barangay captain’s family was never a close one, the latter having considerable higher socio-economic status. The relationship looks to have been shaped more by a mix of occasional favours and specific assistance targeted at strategic house group leaders and the barangay captain ‘allowing’ the newcomers to stay on the land. I say more on this relationship in Chapter Seven, in a discussing of a land court case.
Former sugarcane workers: The Sigua family

Descendants of Oloriz families

**Figure 4.4: The Sigua family in Amio**

The group was relatively small until the late 1980s, when the children of Raul began to establish their own households on the same lot. During the 1990s, this settler group allowed several other families, both kin and non-kin, from elsewhere on Negros and also from Cebu and Mindanao to settle onto the portion of the lot that had been claimed or allotted to Raul. This lot was densely populated in 2006, with 21 households (94 people) on approximately 1,300 sq. m. Some of the newcomers paid rent for an attached room or separate house. During the time of fieldwork, the Sigua family’s residential status was by most people in Amio beach seen as “dili lumad” (not lumad), but many would also acknowledge that they had lived on this house lot for some time. One lumad woman said: “Dugay na silang gapuyo anang lugara” (they have stayed in that place a long time).

Raul’s group was not in a position to claim more land and exert influence in wider neighbourhood affairs in Amio. The pattern of non-marriage between the Sigua family and members of relatively poor lumad families in the neighbourhood is intriguing. Although they are Cebuano speaking Catholics with similar educational, occupational and income levels, there have been few marriages between the ‘regular lumads’ and the ‘poor newcomers’?

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137 The houses are not drawn to scale. There is less space between the houses than the map suggests.
In the following sections and in later chapters, I use the expression *langyaw* and ‘poor newcomers’ interchangeably, reflecting, as I will argue below, a change in the meaning of the term.

**Explaining the pattern of non-marriage between *lumad* and *langyaw***

For the *lumad/langyaw* distinction to work as a mechanism of exclusion, one would expect there to be restrictions on marriages between *lumads* and members of families with more of a migrant status. Although there were no formal restrictions on intermarriage between members of *lumad* families and members of settler groups with more of a newcomer status, they were nevertheless rare, even in cases where one would otherwise expect such relationships to develop. Many of the households within the group of ‘poor newcomers’ mentioned here had comparable levels of income and education with that of several households with *lumad* status. As a result of living in the same area, adhering to a rule of kindred exogamy, attending the same schools, having similar recreational interests, language and religion, one would expect that the brothers of Rose and similarly placed single men (*ulitawo*) with *lumad* status, would make close friendship relations with and also marry single women (*dalaga*) from these ‘newcomer’ families. In coastal Minaba, there were a few relationships between the ‘poor newcomers’ and members of poor *lumad* families, but, overall, such marriages

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138 In both groups there were many who had a standard of living – *pagkabutang sa pag-puyo* – which was considered low. They saw themselves as *pobre ra* or poor. The Spanish term *pobre* and the Cebuano *kabus* are used along with the English ‘poor’ to refer to people whose standard of living is low. Average household income of the household’s living on the ‘Sigua lot’ in Amio was in 2005/2006, according to my estimates, 62,700 pesos. This is similar to the level of income among poorer house groups of *lumad* families (about AUS $1 per day per person). The average educational level of household heads was 5 on a scale where 6 indicates elementary school graduates.

The average annual income of the 15 households surveyed in Minaba in 2006 was 71,363 pesos, or, with an average of 4.7 members per household, an annual income per person of about 15,200 pesos. The average educational achievement of household heads was 6.7.

139 One brother of Nolito Parena, an uncle of Rose, married a girl from one of the ‘poor newcomer’ households in Minaba and settled in her place in the 1970s. There was also a Oloriz man living in
were uncommon. Instead, *lumad* family members from poorer households, if they cannot marry a *lumad* in the area, have found partners living elsewhere.

The patri-virolocal ideology may put pressure on female *lumads* who are keen to live in proximity to their own natal families to marry a *lumad* man who lives in the vicinity. Prohibition on cousin marriages, however, limits the number of available *lumad* marriage partners in the locality.\(^{140}\) Men who agreed to live in their wives’ place were often seen to be from families with lower status than their new partner’s families. Men with a ‘*dili taga dinhi*’ status who settle in the place of their female partners in coastal Sibulan have little say in matters pertaining to neighbourhood politics, especially if they come from families with a relatively low economic standing and have little formal education. Women who remained in their parent’s place after marriage and had been joined by a husband from another place were keen to use the *lumad* family name of their fathers. Their children, too, would in many instances use their mother’s father’s family name, but this also depended on the social status of their father’s family.\(^{141}\)

While *lumad* women from somewhat better-off households are keen not to marry a man who looks to be on a path to become a small-scale fisher (see Chapter Five), women from more remote areas, also the mountains of Negros, with relatively low levels of formal education, seem to be keen to establish themselves closer to work opportunities in cities. By marrying a young man with *lumad* status, her children can also become coastal Minaba, having settled in his wife’s place. There were also a few women from the ‘poor newcomer’ groups in Minaba who had married *lumad* men and settled in their husband’s place.\(^{142}\)

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\(^{140}\) Working in the other direction, however, many are unaware of the exact ways in which they are related. By forgetting kin, the number of *lumad* partners opens up (Dumont 1981). In Sibulan, as on the neighbouring island of Siquijor, the rule of kindred exogamy was frequently violated, but few violated the rule of not marrying members with same family name (ibid.).

\(^{141}\) Among poorer segments of the coastal population, many have not had the money to organise weddings or do not bother to obtain marriage certificates. Such a certificate is required to transfer family name. Such ‘informal’ partnerships are widely accepted, but the main problem they faced was that the Catholic Church required a marriage certificate to baptise their children.
lumad. It is a strategy of social mobility of young people who live in more remote areas of the island to seek to establish a family at the urban fringe. This is one process through which a community of marine resource dependent coastal households of relatively low socio-economic standing are reproduced today.

One possible explanation for this pattern of non-marriage is that the former sugarcane workers who settled in Amio and Minaba may have had extra low status, originally coming from another island to work as sacada (casual cane workers at the plantations). Close interaction with them could potentially be seen by lumads to lower their own standing. Furthermore, as Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson note, there is the tendency for negative gossip about some families within a larger settler group of ‘newcomers’ to be extrapolated onto the whole, the reputation of a few ‘problem families’ having a disproportionate influence on the reputation of all of its members (“they always fight amongst themselves,” “they are drunks and gamblers,” “they are not looking after their own children,” “they don’t send their children to school”). One daughter of a better-off lumad family once told me: “there are no...what do you call them...civilised people in that place.” Among the ‘old’ families, the opposite tends to be the case, where the reputation of the better-off branches of families is taken as examples of the status of the group as a whole (Elias and Scotson 1965: 7).

As mentioned earlier, men from the ‘poor newcomer’ households in Amio and Minaba did not have a reputation for being skilful fishermen, coming from upland Cebu. This lack of status as mananagat has made it difficult for them to develop closer relationships with lumad broker households along the shoreline and be incorporated into the local fishing communities. Another explanation for the pattern of non-marriage between the descendants of former sugarcane labourers and lumads relates to land tenure insecurity and conflict (see Chapter Seven). If a Sigua girl marries a local lumad man, in the case of forced eviction, her extended family in Amio would likely beseech permission to stay on the land of their daughter’s husband’s family. The inability to marry into lumad families prevents members of the Sigua family from claiming any
more land in Amio beach. The Sigua family will eventually have to consider if they want to (or will try to) replace non-relatives with relatives, or if rental income is more important. Meanwhile, the coming generation of young adults belonging to these households will, if they are to continue to live in their parents’ place, build houses even tighter together, build smaller houses and begin to build on top of each other. This may create further distinctions between this settler group and their *lumad* neighbours, further lowering their status within the wider hamlet by visually beginning to look more like a ‘squatter’ settlement.

It may not be a concerted plan to act in ways which exclude the Sigua family and other settlers with a ‘poor newcomer’ status. I want to stress that there was not constant personal friction between coastal dwellers with *lumad* and non-*lumad* status. Relationships between members of the two could be quite friendly, but there was an undercurrent where friendliness would only develop to a point. The exclusionary attitudes and status ideology were in most contexts subtly expressed; the claim to *lumad* status was often made indirectly and not in larger public gatherings. Those who see themselves as *lumads* will in some situations point to more recent settlers and say to a third party, like me: ‘They are not from here’ (*dili taga dinhi*), implying that the people referred to are migrants, people who are expected to leave or will some day want to go back to their own place, or who have come to live in this place. Such labelling was expressed behind the back of the people talked about. According to *lumads*, there is no other term for non-*lumads* except for *langyaw* or equivalent terms such as *dili taga dinhi*, *bag-ong niabot* (newcomer) and *dayohan* (Tag.).

It should come as no surprise that negotiation over the status of settler groups as *lumad* and *langyaw* are ongoing and highly contested. Most non-*lumads* also claim to be ‘locals’ or ‘people from here’ (*taga dinhi*). There are important differences in the exact definition of what it takes to qualify to be part of the group of ‘original people of the place’ and what entitlements such status ought to give. Some ‘newcomers’ said: “*lumad* is like *taga dinhi ra.*” Those who have wider recognition as *lumad* will sometimes say
“lumad taga dinhi” to distinguish their claim from those who can only say “taga dinhi ra.” They apply a much stricter definition of what lumad is, insisting that only the descendants of the first people to live in the barangay or hamlet and have continuously lived there for many generations are lumad. One woman, herself belonging to a family that had come from another place thirty years ago, defined lumad to mean people who are born, grow up and continue to live in a place. As such, even though this woman had not married a man with lumad status, her own children could be seen as lumad. This definition had some resonance. Many agree that you are lumad only in the place where you were born. Others would downplay the importance of the lumad/langyaw distinction and instead appeal to a common humanity, claim a right to livelihood or survival. They de-emphasise kinship links to original ancestors in neighbourhood politics.\(^\text{142}\) I will have more to say on this topic in Chapter Seven, in a discussion of land conflicts.

**Why were the Olorizs able to obtain lumad status?**

The Olorizs in Amio, while not being lumad according to a strict definition, were not seen as langyaw, migrants who are expected to leave or reside as guests on the land of a landowner. While they were said to be people who have come from another place to live in a new place, over time their residential status resembled that of the lumad families living next to and amongst themselves. They acted like lumad in several contexts and were able to obtain leadership positions in the neighbourhood, in particular along the beach. As I described in Chapter Two, many Olorizs, both men and women, had married into lumad families.\(^\text{143}\) They did so within a short period of time, during the 1930s, in what looks like a deliberate and coordinated movement to Amio. Being a lumad family from the same south-eastern corner of Negros Island may have given them an additional

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\(^\text{142}\) Many ‘informal’ coastal dwellers use katungod to refer to a ‘right’ in relation to livelihood, occupancy and/or ownership. The concept of katungod is by long-term settled groups, in particular those who live on land without legal title, intimately connected to the concept of lumad. Neighbourhood leaders also frequently draw on the rich/poor, big-men/small-men discourse in negotiations with government officials (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

\(^\text{143}\) Oloriz members have married into all lumad families in coastal Amio: Parena, Calumpong and Galima.
advantage, being seen less as ‘strangers.’ As I argued in Chapter Three, having members with skills in fishing was a key resource in forging acceptance into coastal communities at the time. Moving to Sibulan 20 to 40 years earlier than the ‘poor newcomer’ groups described above is also a factor. The tenancy contract Antonio Oloriz obtained with an absentee landowner in 1936 looks to have contributed to their ability to set themselves up as a key broker family. This tenancy contract may very well have been brokered by the municipal mayor of Dauin at the time, himself a member of the same extended family. The social status of the Olorizs in Sibulan looks to have been higher than that of landless plantation workers coming from neighbouring islands. But the Olorizs did not own land in Amio. If there has been some ambiguity over their status in Amio, it seemed to have been resolved by the acknowledgement they received from other lumad families that the Oloriz family were some of the first to settle onto the beach. It was to the beach – or portions of the beach – that their family name was seen to have pioneer settler status. In the eyes of the main neighbourhood leaders in the area, the Olorizs were ‘lumad sa bay-bay.’ This is where they have appropriated space for housing and livelihood and been able to define their name to territory with lumad status.

With members who were skilful fishermen, many of the Olorizs in Amio took on a stronger identity as mananagat and have emerged as leaders in the local fishermen’s association. This has allowed them to develop partnerships with both migrant fishers and with town dwellers and fish buyers who have provided them with some of their capital for fishing. Being a large family group which is thoroughly inter-married with the lumad Parena, Calumpong and Galima families in Amio, the Olorizs have received some support in exchange for their votes for successful political candidates running for public office.

The descendants of former sugarcane workers have not been able to obtain such support and look to be struggling to obtain positions as barangay councillors, heads of fishermen’s associations and other formalised leadership roles. They have not been able to promote some of their own into becoming informal neighbourhood leaders with
wider-reaching influence beyond their own house lots. While they can say 'we are lumad too,' this claim needs to receive acknowledgment from a broader set of neighbours, in particular from members of lumad families living along the coastline, to have value. At the same time, they have formed larger kin-based house clusters and been able to continue to live in the area. But the status of their portion of the neighbourhood is low. They have a reputation for having little education and being poor, 'only labourers' (unskilled) and not really taga dinhi.

**Conclusion**

The vast majority of coastal dwellers in Sibulan consider it a sign of strength to be a member of a large, cooperative kin group in a neighbourhood. Kin-based residential clusters and neighbourhood community are important to all localists, lumads and non-lumads. Kinship and affinity figure centrally in the process of house group formation, in organising livelihoods and reinforcing extended family ties through sharing. Apart from security, affection, sense of belonging and obtain some level of subsistence guarantee, being a member of a well-established local family is important in relation to neighbourhood leadership.

I have in this chapter shown that Cebuano-speaking lowlanders of 'commoner' status have both the conceptual tools, and some also the motivation and resources, to define themselves to territory with lumad status. Some are able to set themselves up as powerful figures of authority within the neighbourhoods they live. Lumad brokers seek to regulate access to the patrimony (however small) and exert some control over neighbourhood resources. Some members of lumad families are involved in livelihood and economic enterprise activities and political brokerage which enable them to accumulate, redistribute and invest in legitimacy for the leadership role they take. They issue permissions and mediate conflicts and are involved in market trade of local resources. A precondition for continued success along these lines, however, is that the
neighbourhood leaders' and lumad brokers' families can maintain a certain degree of control over coastal space for residence, livelihood and other social activities.

Not all kinship coalitions are able to prop up some of their own members into leadership positions within a broader neighbourhood. The ranking of the residential status of settler families depends to a large extent on their ability to become incorporated into lumad families. Even after more than four decades of living in the area, some settler groups have been unable to establish themselves as 'people from here' and be incorporated into lumad groups. Their status as 'locals' may even look to be declining; their claims to be 'from here' have become increasingly challenged. The more detailed analysis of land tenure, house groups and kin-based residential clusters, and how neighbourhood leadership and authority is established, promises insights into how the lumad/lanyayaw distinction takes on importance and is used to regulate activities and ownership claims in coastal neighbourhood communities.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, in a fishing community on Langkawi Island, Carsten interprets the lack of interest her informants had in ancestors in positive terms (1997: 270). The active process of forgetting kin in a context where geographical mobility is widespread and the idiom of siblingship is pervasive have allowed migrant newcomers from diverse backgrounds to become locals in a new place. During most of the twentieth century, many fishing communities in the Philippines look to have had a similar openness towards newcomers. Many coastal settlements are of relatively recent origin and there may have been multiple avenues for becoming kin and be incorporated into local families. The lack of interest in ancestors and places of origin may have helped facilitate incorporation. However, coastal dwellers in Sibulan are also capable of remembering ancestors and places of origin in contexts where this is important to them.

Changes in the meaning of the terms lumad and lanyayaw reflects changes in the process of incorporation. The meaning of these terms has in one sense become less fluid and flexible over time. In the past, George Oloriz – as a skilful mananagat – could with
relative ease switch between the two. Until the second half of the 1980s, migrant newcomers could find space along the beach to build a house in barangay Amio and Minaba. This reflects a tendency in the wider region. In recent times, the status of a family name linked to the 'original people of the place' has become a key factor in exerting control over coastal space and neighbourhood resources in peri-urban Sibulan. As a consequence, the *lumad/langyaw* distinction may look to have become more of a mechanism of exclusion. To test this hypothesis and better understand why and how this change in the *lumad/langyaw* distinction affects the conditions of 'becoming local' in a new place, it is necessary to move beyond the contours of the 'little community' and also look more closely into processes of social differentiation among localists.

While there are clear advantages of being a member of a wider neighbourhood 'clan' with *lumad* status in peri-urban Sibulan, in the next chapter, I will show that such membership does not necessarily prevent growing disparity in terms of wealth, education and income between different subsets within the extended family. Such differentiation of wealth and income brings about emerging cosmopolitan orientations among some members of better-off *lumad* families, a process which affects the model of localism outlined so far.
Chapter Five: Social differentiation and cosmopolitan orientations

Chapters Two, Three and Four show that coastal Sibulan is an area where people are moving in and pressure on resources are increasing, and that fishing, *lumad* status and neighbourhoods have become important to many in recent times. In the opening paragraph of this dissertation, I described some of the multiplex and seemingly contradictory processes which are characteristic of peri-urban locations. The influence of urban life, higher education and cosmopolitan orientations has been strong at the same time as many coastal dwellers sought to establish themselves more firmly to the beach, focussing on territory, neighbourhood and kinship links to the ‘original people of the place.’ This is only half of the story. Coastal dwellers continue to look for opportunities elsewhere, and for new opportunities in their home place. Many are not interested in fishing and neighbourhood sociality. The model of an ongoing process of place-based community formation under conditions of modernity outlined so far has not adequately taken into account the effects of social differentiation within coastal dwelling families on the conditions for localism.

James F. Eder’s study outside the provincial capital of Palawan finds that pioneer settlers and their offspring households “vary more widely than in the past in the degree to which each is enmeshed in a local network of kinship and friendship” (1999: 117). At the same time, Eder finds household-based livelihoods to remain important to many and also, in some sense, to have become more important in recent times. How coastal dwellers in Sibulan respond to and help constitute such a seemingly contradictory process is the broader theme of this chapter.

Members of coastal dwelling pioneer settler families in Sibulan, too, take up higher education, become ‘middle-class’ professionals and become successful entrepreneurs. Some desire to travel the world, become cosmopolitan and earn a high salary overseas. Social differentiation has led to diverging strategies of identification with place and
community among the local coastal population. This is not a new process, but one which has a long history on Negros Island. There is a long history of somewhat better-off members of place-based communities taking up higher education, joining town elites or taking on some kind of middle-class status. To varying degrees, they separate themselves from and relate differently to place and community. As those who do separate in this way tend to be closely associated with lumad brokers and neighbourhood leaders, the model of an ongoing process of place-based community formation has to conceptualise social differentiation and place-based community formation as inter-linked processes, seen as part of a broader social dialectic. A closer examination of social differentiation in terms of wealth, education and occupation reveal a double movement where localism and cosmopolitanism are intimately linked. The conceptual challenge, as I outlined it in Chapter One, is to see localism and cosmopolitanism as being part of the same process. A model which allows for a growing class of ‘middle-income’ citizens, an evolving process of place-based community formation, and a stricter definition of what it takes to become a full member of a lumad family is needed. The task of charting out the contours and internal dynamics of such a model will be carried out in this and the remaining four chapters.

In this chapter, I will show who are likely to adopt cosmopolitan orientations and what this implies in terms of changes in their relationship with family, place and community. The chapter gives examples of how the process of separation occurs, the “scale of valuation and prestige” (Ferguson 1999: 106) those with stronger cosmopolitan orientations use, and the responses of localists to this process.

**Localists and cosmopolitans**

Among modernisation theorists and development specialists of the 1950s and 1960s, rural social change was frequently portrayed as a ‘transition’ between entirely different societies, a change from rural lifestyles and tribes to urban, modern identities, from small-scale village communities to large-scale industrial societies, from local to national and global. Both neo-Marxist historiography and dependency theory broke with this
trend by accounting for how migrants and rural workers are part of the same socio-economic process, a broader social dialectic, through which labour-extractive capitalist relations are linked through workers and consumers in villages, towns and cities (Ferguson 1999: 86-90). Replacing dualist models with a master trope of proletarianisation and a belief that capitalism converges on single form has, according to James Ferguson, apart from being simplistic, prevented authors from coming to grips with "the ethnographic fact of a certain cultural duality..." observed among urban workers who have migrated from rural areas (1999: 91). To explain this duality, Ferguson uses the concepts of a localist and cosmopolitan "cultural style." A "cultural style" refers to "practices that signify differences between social categories" (ibid.: 95). Styles are not like clothes, easily replaced in response to changing situations, but more like a dialect or accent. To change style, one would need to acquire performative competence. These categories open up for different scales of valuation: "a localist style would comprise an alternative scale of valuation and prestige, co-existing with the cosmopolitan prestige scale" (ibid.: 106).

In Ferguson's study, the distinction between localist and cosmopolitan styles among urban workers reveal differences in the perception of the values of the city and the countryside. The localists maintain close emotional ties with people in their home village. Many work in the city just to make village life better. The usefulness of this approach to my own study is straightforward and simple enough: it allows me to conceive of localism in positive terms and not as a failure to become modern subjects.

144 A cultural style is not only expressive, i.e. badges of underlying identities; nor does it reflect a 'total way of life' (Ferguson 1999: 97). Those who share similar stylistic expressions do not necessarily share "some whole, coherent package of values, attitudes, or worldview" (ibid.: 220-21). Ferguson thinks Bourdieu's concept of habitus is too 'durable' for his own purpose. Ferguson interprets Bourdieu to be saying that dispositions are inculcated so deeply into the body-habitus at young age that nothing much can change except through one's children.

145 'Localist' and 'cosmopolitan' are conceptual categories first introduced by Robert Merton (1957). He differentiates between two categories of townspeople, depending on their orientation towards their place of origin and residence (Sorger 2008: 810). These categories are tools of analysis "for the purpose of discerning social distinctions as they are expressed in social life" (ibid.: 808).
and citizens of the world. Many coastal dwellers, both lumads and langyaw, seek status and social mobility within a neighbourhood community context. 'Regular lumads’ who take on broker and neighbourhood lider roles follow a localist approach to social mobility. Langyaw becoming lumad is also a localist approach to upward social mobility, by marrying into lumad families or in other ways obtaining status as taga dinhi, become local and a member of a well-established family in a peri-urban location.

Cosmopolitanism in Ferguson’s use refers to “stylistic modes” which create distance from and non-compliance with the expectations of rural kin, interpreted as a kind of individualism or selfishness, disrespect and lack of loyalty by the latter. Cosmopolitans separate and distance themselves from rural allies by enacted gestures of “antimembership” and a rejection of localist expectations (ibid.: 212). Ferguson does not restrict the definition of cosmopolitanism as an orientation to ‘the West,’ or to international mobility, but defines it in relation to pressures for “cultural compliance with the demands of localism” (ibid.: 211). Cosmopolitans on the Copperbelt in Zambia are focused on the “here” of town life, while rural kin are part of the distant “there.” Cosmopolitans separate themselves from rural kin partly for the sake of their own urban prestige (ibid.: 214), but also because it costs money to be a cosmopolitan, with the result that they will have to stop sharing with their extended family back in the village. The few who can afford to do both are, however, not acting as ‘traditional’ rural big men (ibid.: 106-7).

Cosmopolitanism, according to Ferguson, “can be found at every socio-economic level” (ibid.: 214). By itself, cosmopolitanism is not an index of a socio-economic hierarchy. Although it “has affinities with privilege and youth” (ibid.: 213), cosmopolitan styles are found both among an impoverished lumpen-proletariat and elite government officials (ibid.: 212). However, Ferguson continues, although

“young urbanites may for a while play at cosmopolitanism, such stylistic gestures do not necessarily stick...It is as cosmopolitanism moves beyond merely being a youth style and comes to dominate an adult identity that it becomes more significant in a political-economic sense, as a determinant of
what options urban workers have, and what futures they may expect” (ibid.: 217-218).

While agreeing with Ferguson when he says that a cultural style is not simply an expression of class, social status or generation, and also agreeing with Jonathan Friedman that cultural identification and social position are not as clearly linked as Pierre Bourdieu argues (1994: 10), I still find Bourdieu’s model of thinking in terms of distribution – or the likelihood of finding cosmopolitan and localist orientations at different levels of the social hierarchy – useful (1984). Peoples’ acquisition and use, Bourdieu argues, may reaffirm class identity, status, and conventionality, as well as upward mobility. The analysis here follows along similar lines, but I show two modes of social mobility, a localist and cosmopolitan, and thus nuance Bourdieu’s specific class based forms of cultural identification.

Compared to Ferguson’s account of cosmopolitanism and localism on the Copperbelt, in Sibulan there are stronger affinities between household income, college education and cosmopolitan cultural orientations. Furthermore, the kind of cosmopolitan orientation that is developed among children of better-off branches of local families is not only focused on the ‘here’ of the city, but is very much about long-term planning and family life. However, family is being redefined to mean a smaller group, often parent-child relationships and siblings of the same parents. The break, then, is with the requirements or expectations of a place-based community, the extended kin and neighbours they used to nurture multiplex relationships with. Another difference from Ferguson’s study is that the ‘rural’ of Sibulan is located close to the provincial capital and has been re-valued by cosmopolitans as an attractive residential, retirement and recreation area (see Chapter Six).

In the following examples I show how people coming out of the same mode of production, place and family background develop different aspirations, some follow localist orientations and some break with localism and develop stronger cosmopolitan orientations.
Siblings with different view of the value of localism

The first example describes how two members of the same household, a sister and a brother, have developed very different views of the value of localism. I show that among somewhat better-off branches of long-term settled households where fathers or other close relatives are committed fishermen, girls are more likely than boys to take up and complete higher education, not seeing a good future for themselves in a fishing community. The daughter is encouraged by other family members to pursue such a path.

Erwin Polido has been introduced as a skilful fisherman and neighbourhood lider in previous chapters. Erwin had dark skin and four years of elementary schooling. Erwin and his wife, Terecita, had brought up three children, Joel (31), Remati (29), and Leah (26) and been able to pay for their college education. Only Leah finished a four year bachelors program. When I first met them in 2005, Joel and Leah had never lived in another place. They both lived in the house of their parents in 2005/2006. Joel was a fisherman like his father. He was married to Juditha and they had two children. Juditha was from an upland village of Tanjay and met Joel when she was a high school student in Sibulan. Leah was single and had an office job in the city. Remati was married and lived in another area of Sibulan. Despite a similar upbringing and educational background, I will show that Leah and Joel had developed very different views of the value of fishing and their own family’s status, and aspirations for the future. Joel had developed strong localist orientations and Leah expressed equally strong cosmopolitan orientations.

Joel expressed no ambition of going overseas, no desire to live in a city or to have another kind of job. However, as a student at a maritime college located in Sibulan (by the highway into Dumaguete), his ambition was to become a seaman. He was enrolled in a ‘nautical’ course and, as one of his uncles, wanted to become a captain on a ship or work on a boat overseas. Joel’s commitment to his studies seemed to be ok, but at the same time he continued to go fishing to get access to money and spend time with his friends in the neighbourhood. When his girlfriend from high school became pregnant,
however, he quit his studies and began fishing more or less full-time. In one way, he had been playing with the idea of working overseas, but his commitment to follow such a career path did not stick. He did not express any regrets at quitting his college education. He preferred to live with his family in Talak and was very confident that he would be able to continue to rely on the resources in the sea, his local knowledge and social network to secure an adequate standard of living also in the future.

Joel spent much of his time around the house, on the beach and out at sea. His knowledge of fishing had been acquired largely from his father, uncles and siblings living on the same house lot. Joel was gradually exerting himself as an active participant in the relationships his father introduced him to. He became a barangay bantay dagat when he was twenty-three years of age, in 1997. In 2000, together with his father, he became a municipal bantay dagat, receiving a monthly honorarium. He owned both a sakayan and a motorised pamboat. When conditions were good, Joel went trawling for bangus fry. He raised crabs in old rubber tires and made much of his own fishing gear. He knew how to build various kinds of fish traps and how to put them out and pull them up. He also conducted small rituals to ensure success at sea, following the tradition of his father and grandfather. He owned six large bobo which he had made himself. Joel depended on his father’s bangka to bring the fish traps out at sea.

Joel evaluated his own family’s status primarily in terms of barangay community standards. His understanding of the ‘good life’ was closely linked to the kind of barangay living he was already experiencing – live close to family, draw on his own knowledge in making a living and be able to choose when to work and how to go about doing various tasks. He contrasted busy urban living with a notion of a quieter barangay existence, less stressful and more rewarding both in sense of autonomy and social belonging. He invested time, money and emotions into natural resource based, family organised livelihood making in the neighbourhood that was his home. For him, this kind of living was both preferred and possible to sustain at (what would look like?) an adequate standard of living.
Joel’s sister, however, had very different aspirations for her own future and, I will argue, used a different cultural prism or scale of valuation and prestige to assess her own family’s situation. She held a bachelor degree in Computer Science and commuted to work at a lending company in Dumaguete City six days per week, earning 5700 pesos per month (about the same as the wife of Joel got from selling his fish). Leah looked much more to the ‘outside’ and wanted to attach herself to the ‘promise of the foreign’ rather than to the promise of a life with a fisherman.

While re-negotiating her own relationship to kin and to localised livelihood making, Leah had become the girlfriend of a man from the United States. “In the U.S. the salary is much better, you earn so much,” Leah told me. For over a year, she had been developing a relationship to a computer specialist in Ohio over the Internet. Leah had been introduced to him by a trusted female friend and former classmate in college who had been ‘Internet friend’ with him prior to this. The man was looking for a Filipina wife. He had been married to a Filipino woman before, but the relationship ended.

Even before they had met physically, to show his serious intention of getting acceptance from her parents and marrying her, the new boyfriend of Leah wired 100,000 pesos or (at the time, US $ 2130) to her account at a bank in Dumaguete City. The money was spent on upgrading the house of her parents and to buy a landline, computer with camera and an Internet subscription. Leah used an Internet service called Skype to interact with her new partner, from a separate bedroom in the newly refurbished house. “Even though you are far away, you are close. He is just here, waiting for me.”

When I first interviewed Leah, her boyfriend was scheduled to arrive in a few months time. The whole family of Leah was engaged in the project of getting the house ready for his arrival. It looked like a busy construction site. They wanted the house to look good and to show Leah’s boyfriend that the money he had entrusted them with had been spent properly. Shining white tiles were put on the floors and walls and new furniture
began to fill the rooms, not the bamboo furniture of most households, but a European-
looking, dark-wooded dinner table and chairs, a sofa section and a big-screen TV. The
money did run out before the construction job was finished.

The plan was for Leah to go to the U.S. on a fiancé visa, and then get married there. To
be able to get a fiancé visa, applicants will need to show proof of the relationship, that
they have spent time together and have sincere intentions towards each other. Pictures
and a historical record of email communication are used to document the reality of their
love for each other. To include pictures of Leah and her partner together with the parents
and siblings of Leah in front of the refurbished house was believed to strengthen the
application for the fiancé visa. In the U.S., the plan of Leah and her boyfriend was that
she would take up nursing. She hoped to be able to both work and study at the same
time. “We need to support our families,” Leah explained, and continued: “I have regular
income here in Negros, but can only afford to pay for the major bills...electricity, water,
cable TV. My father is just fishing. It’s the main livelihood here.” Leah implied that
fishers have an unstable source of income and are generally poor. When I asked Leah if
she ever had considered marrying someone from this place, someone who is perhaps on
the path of becoming a full-time fisher, she said: “It would be impossible. I'm related to
everyone here.” Leah continued: “I don’t believe in marrying early...I guess I’m
ambitious.” She then went on to explain her obligation to help her family: “My parents,
even though they have little money, sent me to school because they don’t want me to be
the same as them. They want a good future for me...for us...I’m so grateful for that.”

During our conversation, I got the sense that Leah assumed that I was seeing her family
as poor compared to what she imagined the standard of living would be where I came
from. Leah applied a different scale of valuation and prestige from her brother
(Ferguson 1999: 106). To some extent, she had embraced a measuring rod of success
that is focused on the 'rich world.' This world was perceived to be located primarily
outside of the Philippines. She compared her family's standard of living based on
fishing with the life of 'rich people,' outsiders, foreigners and beachfront property
buyers. Leah did not know what the exact salary would be in the U.S., but thought a registered nurse could earn up to US 30 dollars per hour. That would mean that she would be able to earn the equivalent of her monthly salary in her current job in Dumaguete in just half a days work as a nurse in the U.S. Going overseas for work and/or marriage is one way of pursuing her aspirations and helping family.

I asked her how she would tackle living away from family. Leah said that she expected it to be difficult. Despite her being twenty-six years of age, fluent in English and with good computer skills, she had never been to another island. Leah expected that she would feel lonely living in Ohio, away from all her friends and family: “We are so close as a family...I know it will be difficult to leave.”

The relative and comparative aspect of what it means to have a good life came to expression in the interview with Leah. She clearly did not want to be the wife of a fisherman. If she was primarily seeking to escape gendered forms of ‘indigenous oppression’ or was driven primarily by a desire for ‘modernity,’ keep up with already mobile female classmates from college, explore new places and meet new kinds of people, I would say the latter carried more weight. Leah wanted to have a service sector job and to earn a regular income high enough to live what she perceived to be a comfortable life. At the same time, she expressed a desire to live close to family. Her justification for marrying a foreigner and moving to the U.S. was to help family. The marriage to a foreigner twice her own age was constructed partly as a sacrifice to help family. Pauline Gardiner Barber (2000) has observed similar justifications, where Philippine gendered cultural politics, especially those embedded in familial relationships, are appealed to by migrants and their families to legitimate migration. Barber suggests that Foucault’s notion of disciplined subjects can be used to understand

146 Bravery is often seen as a key aspect of masculine identity among fishers (Russell 1997: 90). The masculinity that is associated with the bravery of fishing, as well as a patriarchal view of who can be a leader of the household and local community (“women can give advice, but the man makes the final decision,” said Erwin).
“...the ways in which migrants adapt their aspirations and demeanour to controlling state and employer practices...” (ibid.: 406). In seeking to escape from being categorised as a member of a group of poor ‘fisher folks,’ Leah will now have to deal with the stereotype of a ‘mail order bride’ and the arsenal of assumptions about class, race and gender that Filipino overseas migrants frequently are faced with (Aguilar 2002b). In early 2008, she moved to the U.S. and got married. She did one semester of university education and received honours for her effort, but for reasons unknown to me, she did not continue with the educational program the next semester, but was instead working.

A long colonial history and the development strategy of the Philippine state have contributed to the making of a situation where many Filipinos believe their desires can only be realised by going overseas. Potency and power is seen to originate from somewhere ‘outside’ one’s own culture (Cannell 99: 223). The desire to go overseas for work gets stronger or becomes more real among college students.147 In 2002/2003 there were around 40,000 students enrolled in tertiary educational programs in Negros Oriental and females accounted for 57 per cent of all enrolments (Ocampo 2004: my

147 Formal education has been on the agenda for a long time in this area. Spanish administrators and missionaries emphasised the need to educate the *indios*, provide instruction, guidance and advice so as to improve the natives’ spiritual life and produce civilised subjects. Having remained a privilege for the upper social classes during Spanish colonial occupation, with U.S. colonial rule in 1901, much more resources were put into educational programs. The emphases was on the importance of modern education for economic development. Dumaguete became an educational hub in the region. Silliman Institute, later Silliman University, was the first U.S. protestant school in Asia, established in 1901. As early as 1922, fourteen out of twenty-two municipal *presidentes* were graduates of Silliman Institute (Aldecoa-Rodriguez 1989b: 42). After independence from the U.S. in 1946, the educational sector experienced rapid growth in terms of number of schools, teachers and students. The Philippine Constitution made four years of education compulsory. In the larger Dumaguete area, the level of education was rising rapidly during the second half of the 20th century, children in each generation taking up more schooling than their parents (Pal and Polson 1973: 181).

The idea that people with good education are more progressive, open minded and knowledgeable about how the world works and what needs to be done seemed obvious to U.S. colonial administrators, educators and researchers. Pal and Polson believed the educational programs would give students “a competitive spirit and self discipline. Once they understand these concepts, they begin to have a sense of direction and purpose in life.” Education helps them “make up their minds...to become better men and women...”, “broaden their outlook” and “strengthen their self-determination and discipline” (1973: 226-7).
The gendered structuration of overseas labour migration that has occurred over the last few decades is linked to government policy and national media strategy. Export of female contract labour has been part of the development strategy of the Philippine state since the mid-1970s (Tigno 1990; McKay 2003). The Philippine economy has become increasingly dependent upon remittances from overseas Filipinos and serves to compensate for the sluggish growth in exports, thus preventing the balance of payments picture from becoming tainted.

The paradox in Filipino gender relations, as Philip F. Kelly has summed it up, is that “while women have access to nearly all spheres of economic and political life, their role in these spheres never completely removes the expectations that they confirm to models of the caring mother, dedicated wife and obedient daughter” (2000: 109). This is where the cosmopolitanism as defined by Ferguson can help them separate, dissociate, but based on the data in this study, it is clear that the idiom of family help and support continues to be strong among cosmopolitans, as does attachment to one’s place of origin, although not necessarily one’s neighbourhood, barangay or municipality of origin (see Chapter Six). The desire to liberate one’s self from current social position does not imply that kinship and long-term friendship are no longer as important social relationships as they once were. Many are encouraged by family and friends to go overseas. And the aim of many Filipino migrants is to return. Yet the goal of Leah is not to remain the same, but to continue to remake her own life through the nurturing of an intimate relationship with an American man and the opportunities seen to open up through migration to the U.S.

To further learn about her motivations and outlook, it would be necessary to look much more closely into Leah’s social network of friends, the information they draw on and

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148 In the province of Negros Oriental, this pattern of more females than males attending provincial colleges looks to be going back to the 1950s (Hart 1971: 109). However, only a tiny fraction of families had children enrolled in college at this time. On a national level, this gender gap in education and pattern of migration diminishes with increased family income (Bouis, Palabrica-Costello et al. 1998: 55).
influences they are surrounded by in their day-to-day interaction to more fully understand their desire to attach themselves to ‘the promise of the foreign.’ This information will reveal key aspects of how desires are constituted and aspirations take shape which goes beyond the ‘dutiful daughter’ and the ‘responsible wife’ explanation. As young women move to the city to work, take up higher education and live in boarding houses, they form larger friendship groups,\textsuperscript{149} they marry later than was historically the case, have friends who engage in various forms of circular migration, and have access to a range of communication media which help orient them to a more ‘cosmopolitan social sphere.’

Leah had developed a desire to be seen as a person who is connected to the wider world, as shown in her way of speaking, being fluent in English, use of interactive technologies, being up to date on news from elsewhere, having seen the latest movies, spending more time in Dumaguete City, having an office job and a ‘foreigner’ boyfriend. She did not go gleaning for seashells and trawling for bangus fry, nor did she sell the fish her father and brother caught. She measured her village of origin and her own family by a cosmopolitan group. Joel, on the other hand, portrayed a more ‘inward’ looking or localist cultural style. Joel almost never went to the city. He dressed casually in shorts and a t-shirt, drank tuba (fermented coconut sap) with his barkada in Talak and chose Cebuano and Tagalog rather than English songs when he sang karaoke at his cousin’s place down the road. Joel has inherited the skills and resources necessary to become a successful fisher and were introduced into partnerships with traders of bangus fry, fish trap investors, beachfront property owners, government officials and many other contacts and relationships which formed the core of a successful localist strategy. Joel provided customary attachment to the family house lot, ensured continuity of residence and place-based forms of livelihood. With or without remittances from Leah,

\textsuperscript{149} It is quite common in this part of the Philippines that girls who have not gone to college, to a private high school, or live in a boarding house tend to have relatively few close friends or ‘best friends’ (who are not kin) and tend not to be members of a barkada. Very little if any research has, as far as I know, looked at the formation of larger female and mixed sex barkada or friendship groups in the Philippines.
he looks capable of having a comfortable life in coastal Sibulan, but her support would make things even better, to cover emergency needs, educational costs, house construction, baptismal ceremonies and fiesta celebrations.

Joel’s wife, Juditha, learned how to glean, trawl for *bangus* fry and sell fish after she moved in with Joel in Talak. She took the main caretaker role of her two children and helped her mother-in-law with cooking and cleaning in the house. She had been incorporated as a full member of the family and become local in a new place, a form of social mobility often ignored in the literature.

Already before migrating elsewhere, Leah had started to relate to her home place in a different way from her brother. Talak was where her home was, but work was located in Dumaguete. Frequently, Leah met up with former classmates from college and work colleagues in the city. She came home at night. On her day off, on Sundays, she liked to spend time with her family in Talak. Together with female relatives, Leah was then the cashier of a small *sari-sari* business, selling drinks, cigarettes, ice and snacks to picnickers and swimmers who come out to the beach in front of their house. In the future, Talak, apart from being her place of origin and where key members of her family are likely to continue to live, may become more of a vacation and a retirement place for her. However, she had in 2008 taken up a mortgage and bought a lot with a view in the municipality of Valencia, ten kilometres from Dumaguete City, at the foot of Mt. Talinis, in a high-end residential neighbourhood where many foreigners have also established themselves. Her husband is likely to have had a desire to settle in this area. Taking up a mortgage can be seen as a forced saving strategy which also allows for private accumulation of wealth. While she still wants to ‘help family,’ they must also understand that she has a high monthly sum to pay on the mortgage. By establishing the vacation home outside the home village, she will be better able to control demands for sharing. While this may lead to an accusation of her being *dili managad* or *suplada* (a person who ignores one’s neighbours) by avoiding co-residence at her parents’ place,
these accusations may have little effect. Leah has her well-justified reasons for not wanting to support her family back home with money without ensuring that the money is put to good use. Since she sees "no future" in fishing and believes in higher education, she will target assistance to the education of nieces and nephews and also help her parents finish the refurbishment of their house. She does not want them to grow too dependent on her.

In Sibulan today, young men who drop out of school early and whose future employment seem to be some combination of small-scale fishing and casual work are not the hottest marriage candidates among Sibulan girls from well-established families. Daughters from households of a less-poor status can be very outspoken on their preference for a future husband: "I prefer a boyfriend who has a good job," said a last-year high school student whose father is a fisherman. Another girl said she would like a husband with a "stable income...who has a well-paid job, for example someone who works in a hospital. That is my preference." Fishing is seen as providing a less stable and relatively low level of income and be an occupation of low status. The mother of two teenage daughters told me that "girls are looking to marry a man that has a permanent job, or a rich guy, a businessman. That is common. Most of the girls are looking like that" (Erlinda, housekeeper).

To what extent is Leah’s desire to go ‘out’ a reflection of a change at deeper levels of habitus? Fenella Cannell, referring to Alcina’s account of kinship and marriage in the Visayas in the seventeenth century, says: “Visayan fathers made every attempt to prevent their daughters from marrying men of lower rank” (1999: 69-70). Filomeno V. Aguilar refers to native women, many also from families of the old ruling class whose wealth and status was dwindling during Spanish occupation, who, by marrying ethnic Chinese, “sought to take advantage of the emerging market economy in the eighteenth century by marrying an entrepreneurial person” (1998: 60). As a consequence, by the 1740s, the Chinese mestizo were a group numerous enough to be categorised by the
colonial state as a separate entity (ibid.). There are new dimensions to this process today, however, as I have illustrated here and will show in the next chapter.

Among better-off lumad fishing families who can afford to send children to college, localism seems more appealing to sons than daughters. Among well-established fishing households parents sometimes struggle to keep their sons in school and away from fishing. The grandsons of Mar Florentino, another skilful ‘mode 1’ fisherman described in Chapter Three, skipped high school classes to go fishing when they knew the tuna were jumping. Young men who had taken some college courses and played with the idea of professional careers or overseas migration returned to fishing and localism after marriage.

It is always difficult to make generalisations about desires, beliefs, cultural perceptions and ‘identities.’ It would be premature to claim that ‘fisher folks’ are primarily concerned with guaranteeing their own subsistence needs and seek only to reproduce a ‘way of life’ already familiar to them, for example, instead of wanting to expand their wealth through overseas migration and higher education, or to afford motorbikes, build a modern style house and be less dependent upon fishing and gleaning. It would also be premature to suggest that better-off lumads, like Joel, are always keen to join the town elites or become cosmopolitan. Leo Polido, 31 years old and a father of two children (the first cousin and neighbour of Joel), told me that he did not like the opinion of people who think that fishermen are poor: “The opinion of others about us fishers is pobre ra.” Leo did not see himself as poor. Poor people are those who cannot afford rice, those who have to skip meals or live in squatter areas in Manila, he believed. That the dominant discourse and some close relatives say Joel and Leo are not ambitious enough, that they just want to stay the same, or that they are culturally backwards and not progressive, I have stressed, reflect only one scale of valuation of the good life and ignores what it takes to be a successful localist.
In addition to Joel, there were also other men from lumad families who had taken up some post-secondary courses or completed university programs and returned to fishing after they got married. In part, this was a result of them wanting to stay close to family and at the same time losing out in competition for good and more permanent jobs in the wider Dumaguete area. Most of these men had attended colleges and universities with relatively low status. But the pull-factor of localism may also have been strong. Having ‘failed’ to become cosmopolitan or realised what they were missing when embarking on outwardly mobile projects, some of these men, skilled both in small-scale fishing and in the language of government, English, are emerging as a new generation of leaders in the neighbourhoods where they live.

Apart from just being a choice open to some young men from somewhat better-off lumad families who like fishing, localism is for others more of a necessity. The difference in education, occupation and income between members of the same lumad family in the next example shows considerable inequality and growing disparity in how their members relate to place.

**Cosmopolitan orientations in the Parena family**

Members of the Parena family have inter-married with other long-term settled and lumad families (Oloriz, Calumpong). Here I focus on three branches of the Parena family stemming from a former neighbourhood lider, Anton (see figure 5.1). I start with Olivia, Arnold and their children and grandchildren who at the time of fieldwork were in-between localism and cosmopolitanism. Their orientation to education, occupation, the beach and place-based community revealed emerging non-localist attitudes, but they nevertheless maintained bonds with extended family members and friends in the neighbourhood, partly to seek support for their land claim and maintain customers in their sari-sari and picnic shed business. During the time of fieldwork, several members of this second group engaged in what might be seen as ‘petty patronage’ with villagers. I then describe a sibling group where all members have separated themselves from extended family members in the neighbourhood. The children of Ariana and Danilo had
moved into middle-class positions and related very differently to coastal Amio than the localists. I present information on the relationships which members of these two sub-branches of the Parena family maintained and sought to ignore with members of the poorer branch of the Parena family, some of the descendants of Anton Parena and his second wife, Myrna, and other extended family members who were also localists and relatively poor neighbours.

Figure 5.1: Kinship chart of the Parena family in Amio

Although the bay-bay (beach) and the dagat (sea) have been used for various recreational, celebratory and religious activities for many decades,\textsuperscript{150} it was in the early 1980s that the weekend beachgoer crowd began to appear in Sibulan, especially on

\textsuperscript{150} For example, during the annual fiesta and on San Juan day in the 1950s and 60s, people from the City and inland towns came to Amio to bath in the sea, have a picnic and participate in games and competitions (tossing of coins, wrestling, volleyball and boat racing).
Sundays. Olivia was quick to establish a *sari-sari* store on the beach in the early 1980s, when daytime picnickers and swimmers began to frequent the beach during weekends and public holidays.

Olivia is from Dumaguete. She married Arnold Parena (1937-1988) in 1959. By marrying a son of a neighbourhood *lider*, Olivia was well-positioned to become a relatively successful *sari-sari* store owner in the neighbourhood. Some of the initial capital for the store came from money Arnold got for claiming and selling a beach lot to a rich newcomer (see Chapter Six). The store was expanded in 1990, with picnic sheds (*payag-payag*) for rent. In 2006, Olivia, a widow, had twenty small *payag-payags* for rent, the rental price being 75 pesos per day per unit. One unit could accommodate up to ten people.\(^{151}\)

In the *sari-sari* store, Olivia sold mostly snacks, soft drinks, beer, rum and cigarettes. In 2005, Olivia established a partnership with a policeman who owned karaoke machines.\(^{152}\) The next year, she bought a second-hand billiard table. Olivia paid taxes and Mayor’s permit every three months.\(^{153}\) This lent legitimacy to her business, which was important given the land tenure situation along this portion of the beach (see Chapter Seven). Being a member of a family with *lumad* status and having a son who was a barangay councillor served as a resource in claiming beach space for this kind of business.

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\(^{151}\) According to my estimate, the profit from the *sari-sari* store and the *payag-payag* business was around 10,000 pesos for an average month in 2006. On Easter Sunday, when people from ‘all walks of life’ came to take a cleansing dip in the sea and celebrate the rebirth of Jesus Christ, Olivia earned 15,000 pesos from her *payag-payag* and *sari-sari* store business. On San Juan day (John the Baptist), Olivia estimated her profit to have been 13,000 pesos.

\(^{152}\) The karaoke owner received 65% of the income from each song (5 pesos) and the person who housed the machine received a 35% share. On average, this left Olivia with about 1400 pesos per month.

\(^{153}\) In 2006, Olivia paid 400 pesos in tax (to Bureau of Internal Revenue) and 900 pesos in Mayor’s permit every three months.
Olivia was intimately involved in barangay day-to-day social, political and economic relations. She had taken on a role as a provider of work and credit to poorer kin and other neighbours living along the beach. Olivia hired a woman from one of the poorer households in Amio to clean the beach every morning, so that it would look nice for customers. She frequently hired local guys to run errands, do various refurbishing jobs, build new payag-payags and run the karaoke machine. Several of the men who did work for her did so to pay off their utang (debt from buying on credit, interest free, with a promise of repayment in money or labour services at a later time). Those who worked for Olivia and did not have utang in her store could choose to get paid in cash or in goods from her store. Some of the unmarried men (ulitawo) spent a considerable amount of time in Olivia’s place, singing karaoke, playing billiards, sharing drinks, information, stories and jokes.

In her self presentation, in her style of dress, the way she spoke, moved and gesticulated, there was nothing that elevated Olivia above the ‘barangay regulars.’ Although she was a business owner (agalon), she did not put herself above others, not even in the house in which she lived, which was made of mostly ‘native’ materials and was modest looking.

While lumad brokers construct themselves as being on the same or similar level of living as other villagers, the members of the house group of ‘regular lumads’ spoke of Ariana and Olivia as igo-igo ra, meaning they are ‘doing ok,’ their families are arangan,

154 Sari-sari storeowners tend to have a list of names of neighbours who have obtained goods without payment. In Amio, it was common for storeowners to operate with a maximum limit of 100 pesos utang per person. The expectation is that the utang is paid within a week. Saturday is the payday of construction workers and also many others and hence this was the day many paid their utang. Those who are unable to pay their debt will not return as customers, being ashamed and not being welcomed. Some are known to have utang in several local stores and have been blacklisted from getting utang in the future. Utang is given both to kin- and non-kin, but not to people the storeowner does not know, such as picnic guests and other visitors to the beach.

155 The annual income of Olivia’s household and the household of her three children, I estimate, amounted to 48,000 pesos per person per year (2005/2006). This was about three times higher than what the poorer branch of the Parena family had in income.
comfortable, in the 'middle,' their households have an adequate standard of living (papkabutang sa pag-puyo) or are able to gradually improve their economic situation. They are not seen as rich, such as big business owners, high-ranking politicians (governors, congressmen and senators) and big landowners, “those who can provide for everything” (Belinda, 45, wife of fisherman). To be rich is also associated with ‘foreigners’: “Americano, Hapon [Japanese]...They can afford to have a fiesta everyday” [laughing] (Leo, 31 years old, fisherman).

Olivia channelled much of the profit from her beach business into her children’s and grandchildren’s education, birthday parties and other life cycle events such as baptism rituals and wedding ceremonies. Some of these events were like village feasts, as large numbers of kin and friends in the neighbourhood showed up. While sharing some of her success with extended family members, much more of the money from Olivia’s beach business was channelled into education of her children and grandchildren. There were no longer any fishermen or farmers in the households of her children living next to her on Amio beach.

The youngest son had a bachelor degree in management from St. Paul’s University, an educational institution “second only to Silliman.” When he graduated in the mid-1990s, he worked in sales in Dumaguete City, commuting daily. In 2006, he became the branch manager for DuEkSam on Siquijor Island. DuEkSam is the biggest dealer of Honda motorcycles in the region. He came home every Saturday night and went back to Siquijor Monday morning. In addition, in 2004, he was elected barangay councillor of Amio, but was not considered to be a neighbourhood lider, more a lumad broker who

156 There is a relatively clear class division in the educational sector in Negros Oriental, with Silliman University being at the top of the local educational hierarchy. The largest public sector tertiary institution in the region, Negros Oriental State University (NORSU), formerly known as Central Visayas Polytechnic College (CVPC), is the institution most households in coastal Sibulan can realistically hope to send some of their children to. Students graduating from Silliman University have a better chance of getting the well-paying jobs that are to be found in the region and to successfully migrate abroad than students graduating from CVPC/NORSU.
had obtained voter support from family members and young men who he spent time with on Sundays, often sponsoring drinks. His wife ran another sari-sari store next to Olivia. They supplemented each other in terms of product range, the daughter-in-law selling rice, cooking oil, vinegar, spices, some vegetables, snacks, ice, mobile phone credit, and so forth. Olivia’s second child also had obtained a bachelor’s degree from St. Paul’s University. She worked as a teacher at Science Elementary in Dumaguete City, having a salary of 12,500 pesos per month.

Olivia’s first child, Lilibeth, was forty-five years old in 2005. She was an elementary school graduate. She got pregnant at a young age and married a mechanic, Jay. His motor shop was in front of their house in Amio beach and both Lilibeth and Jay were spending almost all their time at home. Olivia did not have much money for education of her children in the 1970s and early 80s. The grandchildren of Olivia’s oldest daughter, however, have both been sponsored with a bachelor degree, the granddaughter from the local elite Silliman University, while the grandson went to Negros Oriental State University.157 Children’s educational achievements are an important social marker for parents (Fegan 1983; Rigg 2001: 54). Many families make considerable sacrifices to enable some of their hopefuls to obtain post-secondary degrees, parents being under great pressure to live up to the expectation of providing their children with the necessary “establishment fund” (Fegan 1983). This has lead to new financial obligations on parents and older siblings and raised expectations on children to complete high school and increasingly also college education.

The Silliman graduate’s son, the great grandson of Olivia, Jayson, was celebrated with an impressive first year birthday party 29 October 2005.

Around 0830 in the morning, two pigs were killed outside the house of Lilibeth, the oldest daughter of Olivia. One pig was prepared for lechon (whole roasted). The

157 Daughters are often seen as being more studious and committed to completing higher education than their sons, and also often trusted to share savings from a job elsewhere with their family.
other pig was chopped up and made into numerous dishes. Three young men in the
eighbourhood, related to the family, helped with the killing of the pigs and the
preparation for lechon. Other young men also hung around, helping with this and
that. Three women worked inside the house, preparing the other dishes and
decorating the house. Throughout the day, more than ten people were involved in
preparing for the dinner. Alcohol was served, along with preliminary snacks (grilled
intestines and fat from one of the pigs). The food was prepared for the one-year
birthday party of Lilibeth’s grandson, Jayson. The celebration was combined with
the homecoming party for the mother and father of Jayson. They had been on a two
month seminar to Manila sponsored by the Dumaguete-based lending company they
worked for. They did not have their own house, but lived in the brick house of
Lilibeth and Jay.

Around 6 pm, the dinner was ready, all the dishes nicely put on a table in the living
room. Many people had gathered around the house, but only the immediate family
and selected guests were invited into the house in the beginning. Some waited
outside the fence of the house, people who considered themselves to be less close to
the host family or who were too shy to go inside. At the same time, there was no
strict policing of who got to go into the house. Marwin, a poor fisherman who was
not closely related to the family hosting the birthday party, slightly drunk, walked
into the house early on and got himself a big piece of roasted pork with crispy skin.
The act made him vulnerable to accusations of being shameless (walay ulaw). To
limit the number of people inside the house, several people were served through the
kitchen door at the back of the house. This is where Marwin was expected to have
waited in line for a plate of food. I asked a group of men hanging outside the fence if
they had eaten. One man said: “We got to eat in the baggage compartment.” The
joke produced laughter. Marten Oloriz arrived later. He walked straight into the
house through the front door and sat down at the kitchen table, complaining about
not having been invited. Marten, a cousin of Lilibeth, lived for many years in
Mindanao, but returned to Amio a few years ago, when he lost his job at a shipyard.
He was in his late fifties, lived with an older brother and survived from small-scale
fishing and relying on kin.

While access to the roasted pig has always been regulated, some of the cousins in the
neighbourhood who were asked to get food in the ‘baggage compartment’ may have felt
they were looked down upon or denied participation on equal terms compared to some
non-relatives of higher socio-economic status, myself included. Nevertheless, this was
by and large a party which showed poorer relatives and friends in the neighbourhood the
opposite of social withdrawal and selfishness. The birthday party came at a considerable
expense and food was served to almost fifty people. That Olivia’s grandchildren and

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great-grandchildren were celebrated by throwing relatively open village feasts suggests that this branch of the family continued to invest in neighbourhood relations. But why was this so important?

Some members of households of this branch of the Parena family played the often difficult role of small-scale patron and community broker while at the same time distinguishing themselves from a fisher-farmer ancestry.\textsuperscript{158} Almost all the young adults in these households had completed four years of tertiary education and some had obtained salaried positions. Jayson’s future was perceived to be secured not through nurturing of neighbourhood relations but by obtaining higher education. Jayson was kept out of the sunlight and despite his young age, given skin whitening cream on a regular basis. His parents wanted to send him to a private elementary school in Dumaguete City. Despite their college education, however, several members of this family group found it difficult to secure long-term, good-paying salaried positions and continued to rely on income obtained from claiming ownership and user rights to the beach. Overseas migration could potentially be an alternative path for some members of these households, but they preferred to pursue opportunities in the job market in Dumaguete and to some extent also in other areas of Negros and the Visayas and combine this with residence in a kin-based house group, family organised beach business and maintaining relatively extensive, multiplex relations with many neighbours.

Olivia’s family continued to have an interest in sustaining and expanding claims to beach space. In part, this helped shore up legitimacy for their cottage-rental business and to secure a stable supply of customers to the \textit{sari-sari} store. In June 2006, Olivia

\textsuperscript{158} This episode has resemblance to Fenella Cannell’s observation of the options available to somewhat better-off local families in a lowland Bicol context: “Either they could share some of their wealth via hospitality, loans, the provision of work and so on, within the framework which insisted that all co-barangay members are ‘siblings,’ Or (much more problematically) they could themselves start to move into the position of the ‘good patron.’ To act as an individualistic entrepreneur and to refuse such social obligations, however, was to
claimed the space next to the lot she was already using for payag-payag business. The ‘rights’ to this lot had been informally bought by a policeman working at the provincial police station in the past, but he was no longer living in the province and the land was re-appropriated by the ‘original owner.’ Olivia had applied for tax declaration paper for this lot and had donated it to one of her daughters. This daughter had simple payag-payags constructed on the lot to accommodate picnickers. Some of the long-term settled families have indubt knowledge of what the status of each lot is and will not forego opportunities to build houses or sheds on available space as long as they believe they can claim it for use without provoking too much protest from neighbours, or from other people who may be better connected and regarded as more powerful than themselves and/or who are seen to have a stronger claim on the same land. Given the contested status of the Parena family’s claim to ownership and user rights to the beach they lived on and conducted business, to obtain the necessary permits and access to public utilities such as electricity and water, they needed connections to those in charge of issuing permissions at the municipal government. Being considered an ‘influential’ lumad family by municipal politicians, it was easier for them to establish such connections in the first place. This branch of the Parena family depended on wider acceptance in the neighbourhood for using beach space for their own business enterprise and potential future selling of more lots, basing their claim on long-term settler status. By adhering to a ‘customary’ pattern of settlement where siblings live next to each other, on the same lot as their parents, combined with involvement in barangay politics and relationship-making with neighbours, as well as some allies at the municipal hall and at the provincial police station, their possession of this stretch of the beach was, it seemed, relatively secure.

Several members of this sub-branch of the Parena family were in-between localist and cosmopolitan in their orientations. Some members displayed stronger localist orientations than others. The son of Lilibeth had been offered a job at the DuEkSam
branch in Bayawan, but declined because he wanted to live at home. He continued to apply for office jobs within commuting distance from home. Meanwhile, he helped in the *sari-sari* store of Olivia. He showed an attachment both to family and his home place, and although he was not a fisherman and was expected to use his education to get a regular salary, it is not entirely unlikely that the family beach business may be part of a longer-term commitment to place and community, one where some members do not separate in cosmopolitan fashion, but instead continue to nurture and see themselves as being part of a place-based community.

James Scott usefully suggests that ritual ties which involve gift exchanges between rich and poor provide a window for understanding transformation of class relations (1985: 169). A decline in the feasts and invitations to ritual events sponsored by the rich and well-to-do is interpreted as “symptoms of social withdrawal” and “selfishness” by the poor, as are their withdrawal of provision of work, loans and gifts. While I do not assume the same teleological historical outcome of the process as Scott, where rural society polarises into a landless proletarian class who have to sell their labour in the market and one class of elite landowners, in the next example, such social withdrawal did happen.

Danilo Parena and Ariana Calumpong used to operate as one of the most influential *lumad* broker households in coastal Amio. Danilo used to combine work as a tenant farmer with some fishing. He had tenancy contracts for about three hectares of land planted with rice. Ariana operated as a fish buyer in the market in Dumaguete and many neighbours in Amio sold their catch to her. In 1975, this family bought a titled residential lot from the landowner they had a tenancy contract with at the time, the Aldaya family.\(^{159}\)

\(^{159}\) The Aldaya family had inherited several lots in the area through a grandmother, but the family never lived in Amio. The previous owner of this lot was a provincial elite absentee landowner and sugar planter who was able to get the approval of the subdivision plan in 1967. He had himself bought a large chunk of land from another large and prominent *hacendero* family in the early 1950s (see Chapter Two).
They continued to provide jobs in the agricultural fields until the 1970s, but the area covered by the tenancy contract of Danilo declined over the years and he also began to rely on casual labourers from other areas to do some of the work. Ariana continued to operate as a fish buyer and vendor in the Dumaguete market and nurtured relationship with the families of local fishermen until the mid-1990s. Poorer relatives in the neighbourhood said that this branch of the Parena family became increasingly strict during the 1980s and 1990s. By strict they meant that Danilo and Ariana would not provide job opportunities, share resources and host celebratory and ritual functions as much as they, and also Anton Parena and his wife’s father, Antonio Oloriz, had done in the past. The expression *dili managad* – a person who ignores others – was often used by poorer family members living in the neighbourhood to describe one aspect of this strictness. Poorer neighbours saw their behavioural change as a kind of social withdrawal and selfishness, better-off people in their family and neighbourhood who seek to minimise their obligations to help.

All the children of Danilo Parena and Ariana Calumpong have obtained bachelor degrees from universities in Dumaguete City. The tenancy contracts Danilo used to have with absentee landowners along with Ariana’s buy-and-sell fish business provided this household with the bulk of the income needed to send all their children through college. In 2006, the first son of Danilo and Ariana, Crisanto, still held lease contract for rice cultivation, but the area planted was only 1/3 of a hectare. The landowner hoped to have the land reclassified to ‘residential’ and Crisanto did not depend upon income from cultivating the land for his own economic well-being. As a police officer, he received a regular salary. He earned more per month as a police officer (perhaps around 15,000 pesos) than he earned from one successful harvest.160 The actual work in the field was

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160 The rent of the rice field was 5 *cavans* (one *cavan* is equal to 50 kilograms of unhusked rice) to the owner from each harvest (referred to as ‘contrata’ or ‘fixed rent’ contract). A good harvest could yield around 30 cavans, but a poor one would only yield 10 or 15. Production cost was left entirely to the person renting the land (labour, fertiliser, chemicals, etc). Crisanto could obtain a margin of 50 per cent after subtracting production costs, leaving him with a profit of around 10,000 pesos for each successful harvest (two harvests per year).
done by hired casuals who were not kin. For Crisanto, rice farming was a sideline activity and something he did more as a favour to the owner of the field than anything else. Crisanto was married and had three children, two of whom were university students and one who attended a private elementary school in Dumaguete.

For three of Crisanto's siblings, as they had settled elsewhere for work, Amio was a place where they came for home-visits during vacations and a potential retirement place. Sherwin (40) lived on the neighbouring island of Siquijor and was also a college graduate. He was married and had three children. He was said to own “plenty of coconut trees” in Siquijor. They also owned a store. Arvin (36) lived in Bicol, working as a branch manager for a dealer of mostly China-made motorbikes. Arvin had a vacation house on the lot of his mother. He also owned a pamboat (motorised outrigger canoe) which he sometimes used for recreational fishing when he visited back home. Melanie (24), the youngest in the sibling group, a second year college graduate, went to Manila to prepare papers to work overseas. While living in Manila, she became pregnant with her new boyfriend and married him. In 2005/2006, they both had jobs in Manila. Sherwin, Arvin and Melanie were not coming back home to Amio to rekindle relations with the extended group of kindred living in the area, but to visit their mother, siblings and their immediate family, and to meet up with old classmates from college.

Apart from educational achievements, with formal title to their 800 square meter house lot, concrete style houses with electricity, faucet, television and well-furnished rooms, this former lumad-broker family and their immediate off-spring, despite them coming from an area dominated by large-scale landlordism in the past, have been able to obtain relative financial independence and meet some of their new consumption desires. Danilo and Ariana realised upward social mobility as lumad brokers within a neighbourhood community context, but had different aspirations for their children’s future. In the process of breaking away from fishing, farming and small-scale trading activities in the locality, they dissociated from relatives in Amio. Except for Ariana, who maintained relationships with a few more relatives in the neighbourhood (some money
lending, but also sponsoring a wedding of a niece from a poor household), her children had very little direct involvement with other family members living in Amio. Ariana’s grandchildren formed friendship relations with classmates at the private schools they attended in the City. Relatives in Amio were not invited to the celebration of their birthday parties. They did not share their relative material success at the annual fiesta. This branch of the Pareña family had separated themselves from the barangay community of personal kindred and downplayed their links to poorer kin in the neighbourhood. They had built a fence around their house lot and demands on their wealth from poorer neighbours and kin were reduced through having different arenas of social interaction and maintaining financial independence.

Since their house lot was about one hundred meters away from the beach (next to a rice field) and they no longer had an interest in buying fish, there were relatively few encounters between Crisanto, his wife and children and the rest of the beach dwelling lumad families who were their relatives. The interactions I observed between this branch of the Pareña family and the poorer branches tended to have a low level of mutual affection. In such interactions, there were some obvious differences in skin colour, gestures, tone of voice, the poorer members looking subordinate. This created distance, restrained behaviour and formality rather than intimacy, easy-flowing exchange of words and a relaxed atmosphere. There was no sense of them having common ancestors, a common history. Rose, the emerging house group leader among the poorer branch of the Pareña family introduced in the previous chapter, was for Crisanto a barangay cousin who had lost relevance. As Dumont observed in a similar situation on the neighbouring island of Siquijor, “a strong sense of hierarchy had already sanctioned inequalities” (1992: 164, 168).

Although the members of this branch of the Pareña family had almost all stopped nurturing relationship with relatives in the neighbourhood, such better-off branches of a local family may still have an interest in the area, for housing, vacation, retirement and
business, some seeking to claim land along the beach and having ideas of what kind of place Amio ought to become, as I will show in the next two chapters.

There is a major difference in the way the two Parena family groups described here relate to place-based community, one group maintaining closer relationships and having a much higher level interaction with their neighbours. Olivia and some of her children provided jobs, credit (utang) and invited family and friends in the neighbourhood to birthday parties and fiesta celebrations. Having emerged as a lumad broker family, they continued to maintain wider kinship and neighbourhood relations. Ariana and her children, on the other hand, were financially independent from neighbours, had private, state-guaranteed Torrens title to the land they lived on, and used their educational capital to pursue employment, professional careers and business elsewhere. Most of Ariana’s children had moved away from Amio, seeking social mobility by separating themselves both geographically and socially from their ancestors and extended kin in the wider neighbourhood.

**Conclusion**

Cosmopolitans ignore or re-negotiate broader kin ties and historical ties to others. Former lumad brokers stop being involved in dense, multiplex relations in the neighbourhood and no longer depend on lumad status. The separation from day-to-day neighbourhood and barangay activities comes in degrees, some moving out and break off more or less all ties to their place of origin and others continuing to be involved in some local exchanges, but their interest in nurturing relationships with people in the locality have changed in substantial ways. In some instances, entire branches of lumad families are lost to cosmopolitan ways. In other instances, one or a few members of a family are sponsored and encouraged to ‘go out’ and help family back home. I have shown that localism and cosmopolitanism exist within the same family, among members of the same household, and to some extent within the same person.
The process of differentiation within families with original settler status shows class complexification and how cosmopolitan and localist orientations to place and community take shape. On Negros Island, this process of self-separation from the top end of place-based communities has a long history. I suggest that the phenomenon of individuals, households and branches of family groups in Negros Oriental separating themselves from neighbourhood communities did not start in the 1970s or 1950s or 1930s, but was already pronounced in the period of rapid expansion of export agriculture during the second half of the 19th century. The sugarcane industry and the colonial state brought with them not only landowners, tenants and landless labourers, but overseers, foremen, recruiters, agronomists, engineers, lawyers, priests, store owners, traders, money lenders, doctors, judges, teachers and government employees (Larkin 2001: 81-82). There was a movement of people into professional, middle class positions at least since the 1870s. Among these segments of a rapidly transforming agrarian and colonial Philippine society, to become middle-class had since the 1880s been “associated with things foreign...” (Rafael 2005: 8). Many of the children of better-off families who took up higher education sought out opportunities in Manila, Europe and, in the first half of the twentieth century, increasingly in the United States.

This process of separation can be gradual, working itself out over generations, or more rapid. The process of social differentiation and full separation from the top-end of lumad families can take several generations, but with more investments in higher education and expanding economic opportunities for business employment and professional jobs in Dumaguete and the wider region, as well as new opportunities overseas in recent times, the process may also look to speed up and, in the eyes of some, localism look to have little value, no future, and be a social formation for the poor. The orientation to higher education, stable wage employment and overseas migration can seem strong, and it is especially strong in Philippine media. The argument in this dissertation is that localism nevertheless persists, or more precisely continues to be produced under conditions of modernity.
In many instances, localism articulates easily with wage employment, remittances and a growing cosmopolitan influence in the coastal zone. At the same time, the process of separation is often contested, along lines described by Scott in “Weapons of the Weak” (1985). But instead of seeing society to polarise along lines suggested by Scott, new neighbourhood brokers and leaders take the place of those who are lost to cosmopolitan ways. While some develop more cosmopolitan orientations, just as many or more remain committed to localism, both because they cannot afford to invest in ‘projects’ which tend to encourage such orientations and because localism attracts people, those who apply a different scale of valuation and prestige. I have in this chapter described this process within family groups and households in coastal Sibulan and highlighted how cosmopolitanism and localism are intimately linked, co-constitutive processes feeding differentiation between the two. The change in lumad orientation is one where langyaw are no longer of interest. Instead, lumads nurture relationships with other lumad family members and, as I will show in the next chapter, ‘rich newcomers.’
Chapter Six: The arrival of rich newcomers and commodification of beaches

I have in previous chapters shown that members of lumad families with a fisher-farmer background have played a key role in structuring settlement patterns along the beach and, by drawing on the status of a family name and common interest in land and livelihood, have had some success at constructing place-based communities along the shoreline. To varying degrees, they have distinguished themselves from later arrivals and non-kin. I have also demonstrated that there can be considerable income and wealth differences between coastal dwelling households belonging to the same extended family. Investment in higher education has been a priority for many of those who have been able to afford it. Some members of these neighbourhood communities have been lost to cosmopolitan ways, but this has not by itself posed a threat to localist identities and may in some ways have strengthened place-based community commitments, encouraging a re-appreciation of localism in recent times through kin-based house group formation along the beach and a stronger ‘fisher folk’ identity among some.

Until quite recently, the beach of Sibulan was a location to pull up boats and store fishing gears, dry fish and rice, collect firewood, buy and sell fish, establish nipa huts for housing and, in Minaba and Amio, host migrant fishermen. Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a few ‘rich newcomers’ with urban and overseas backgrounds bought land along the shoreline for recreation, ocean view residence and investment purposes. In the 1990s, there was rapid expansion in the number of rich newcomers buying beachfront properties. With rapidly increasing property value of beach lots, previous settler groups and others who have a claim to ownership have been enticed to sell. A new social context has emerged for understanding local social dynamics, status distinctions, coastal land use and ownership claims to the beach. How have the arrivals of a large number of cosmopolitans affected livelihoods, conceptions of place and lumad status?
This chapter examines who these beachfront property owners are and the nature of their relationships with already settled families. The commodification of beaches poses considerable challenges to already settled groups and can be seen as a threat to the model of localism presented in previous chapters, as the ‘original people of the place’ shift their attention from acting as hosts for migrant fishers and ‘poor newcomers’ to developing relationships with ‘rich newcomers.’

Who are the ‘rich newcomers’? I will open with a description of two different buyers of beachfront properties in coastal Sibulan, to give some texture to the analysis which follows. I highlight a major transformation in the view of the coastline among elites and emerging middle-class segments of Philippine society and then look at a broader sample of beachfront property buyers and construct categories which reflect their association with place. It is clearly a diverse group, which reflects in part a long history of emerging middle-class and new rich segments of Negrense society. One category, the beach house owners who use their houses regularly, are then given special attention. I look at the character of their relationships with members of already settled families and assess their view of the place and how they seek to improve it. I show that several members of lumad families have actively sought out various kinds of relationships with the rich newcomers, but I also point out how they differ in their view of the value of the coastline, what the major problems are and what they think should be done to ‘improve’ the place.

**A beachfront property investor from Manila**

In 1992, a relatively successful owner of an Overseas Filipino Workers’ recruitment agency, Jennifer, with residence and business address in Makati, Metro Manila, utilised a connection with a policeman and cousin who lived in Sibulan to buy three titled lots in barangay Amio. These were lots which had been subdivided and sold by a hacendero elite family and other absentee titleholders in 1967 (see Chapter Two). One of these titled lots went all the way down to the shoreline and a mix of people – mostly ‘poor newcomers’ – had since the early 1980s built their houses in this area. Jennifer had to push an eviction case to the Regional Trial Court in Dumaguete City and also pay a smaller amount to each family to ‘voluntarily’ leave. She did obtain
possession of the lot in 1994. Given the tensions that built up around the eviction, Jennifer felt she had to take actions to establish her reputation as a benevolent newcomer to the place. Jennifer sought the support of some of the well-established families by offering jobs. She needed labour to build a new house, picnic sheds (payag-payag) and a small store.

Jennifer was particularly strategic in her choice of local family to run and look after the cottage rental business. She aligned herself with a household belonging to one of the largest kin-groups in Amio. Jennifer sponsored the college education of three children in this family. A fisherman from the same kin group got the opportunity – through Jennifer’s recruitment agency – to earn relatively good money on a Japanese fishing vessel operating in Saipan. She also recruited one of the daughters in this family to go to Japan as an entertainment worker. Jennifer also sought to establish a positive reputation among the wider neighbourhood community of Amio beach. She put on a village disco from time to time and sponsored a pamboat race. Richer newcomers know that it is good for safety and assistance to support lumad families, get them to legitimate their presence in place and seek their support for various projects. They also rely on the municipal government to influence developments in the area (buy lots, secure title, peace and order, sanitation, environmental protection). Jennifer had the additional outside backing of heirs of a provincial elite family who got the subdivision plan approved in 1967.

Jennifer’s picnic sheds or ‘cottages’ were equipped with electricity and barbeque facilities. They were priced to target a ‘middle-class’ customer base coming from Dumaguete City. Jennifer told me that her cottage rental business did not earn any money. The income from cottage rental went to pay the expenses for refurbishing and developing the place, pay taxes and wage for the caretakers. Her interest in the cottage rental business, she told me, was to have a place to relax and recharge herself, to get out of Manila. She came on frequent visits from Manila. However, Jennifer’s main motive for buying lots in coastal Sibulan was poorly disguised: to grow her wealth. She had also bought coastal lots on the neighbouring island of Siquijor. By investing profits from the recruitment agency she owns in Manila in beachfront properties in the Central Visayas, Jennifer had been able to rapidly grow her wealth. Jennifer was surprisingly keen to point out the increased market value of these properties. She had paid 200,000 pesos for the titled property where she had established cottage rental in 1992. The market price of this 1000 square meter lot in 2006, Jennifer estimated, was 5 to 7 million pesos.

The province re-discovered by young urban professionals

Among many middle-class urbanites, probinsya has for a long time been equated with a static rural society, a place for the unsophisticated, backward and poor. Prombdi was an in-expression used among Manila’s young middle-classers to depict people ‘prom di
province’ as a kind of ‘country bumpkin’ (Tan 2006). Today, many urban professionals in Manila seem to be willing to move back to the provinces long before retirement age. City life is compared to the opportunities for a good life in the province. They imagine a peaceful, comfortable life back on their island of origin, less stressful and with a healthier environment for their children. Nevertheless, there is still a ‘rite of passage’ to have lived in Manila and overseas, to learn about the world, to gain experience and build up wealth and cosmopolitan cultural capital. Many professionals I spoke with were critical of some of the children of the old landed elites who had not obtained higher education and careers, seeing them as lazy, unambitious, just waiting for their parents to give them land. At the same time, there are relatively few good-paying jobs for educated elites in Dumaguete City.

Fedeliza (38) is from Negros Oriental and got her nursing education in the Philippines. Her father was an attorney and her three brothers and one sister were all college-educated professionals. When I met her in 2006, Fedeliza had lived 12 years in the U.S., working as a nurse in Oregon. Her vacation was only two weeks per year. Life can be hard in the U.S., Fedeliza said. Her husband was also from Negros Island. They met when they were students at Silliman University in Dumaguete City in the second half of the 1980s, but did not develop a romantic relationship until 2003, when they both attended a reunion for their batch at Silliman. They married and became parents. Her husband, who used to work in Manila, had recently followed Fedeliza to the U.S., taking care of their child, applying for work and following up on the application process to obtain dual citizenship.

Fedeliza and her husband both wanted to move back to Negros as soon as they had saved up “enough money to live a comfortable life” back home. The bills were high in the U.S, however, and it was not easy for them to save. In 2002, Fedeliza invested in a townhouse in Oregon, taking up a mortgage. She had to pay US$170,000 for the house. The market value of the house during the interview in 2006, Fedeliza estimated, was about US$270,000. They hoped to be able to pay down the mortgage, sell the house and save up enough money to move back home in seven or eight years, or at least before they turned fifty. (With a collapsing housing market in the U.S., their homecoming plan may have to be delayed). They do not want to move back to Manila, although Manila is said to have better educational opportunities for their children. Manila, they both agreed, “is dirty,” “crowded” and “expensive already.” When they eventually do move back to Negros, they said they wanted to live near Dumaguete City, preferably along the coast. That is why Fedeliza was looking for a beach lot in Sibulan when she was back for vacation in 2006. They did
not have to buy land in this specific location to materialise the desire to re-attach or maintain a link to their home-province and their parents, but they wanted to have access to the city, as well as to close friends who live in and visit Dumaguete.

Fedeliza’s husband said he would like to start a business in Negros, but exactly what line of business he was less sure of. He had bought a lot in the hills of Negros, not far from a new golf course. The lot will be planted with hardwood trees. Land investments and tree crops are considered to be relatively safe ‘portfolio’ investments and can also be a potential retirement fund or retirement place. The expectation was that the price of land both along the coast and in the mountains of Negros is only going to increase further. To be successful in other lines of business in the province, he says, is more difficult and requires specialised skills, hard work and privileged connections.

The examples of Jennifer and Fedeliza are just two of many more property buyers in coastal Sibulan. In the following section, I will introduce a broader context for why coastal and marine environments have become so lucrative among cosmopolitans of all kinds.

**Governing elites encouraging coastal developments**

I want to emphasise a major shift. Among governing elites in the Philippines, the value of the provinces has for a long time been seen in terms of opportunities for natural resource extraction and the production of crops for export (see Chapters Two and Three). Instead of ‘culture,’ ‘tourism’ and ‘environment,’ the focus of the sugar planters of Negros Island was from the second half of the nineteenth century on the productivity of labour and land, in particular to secure the supply of labour at a low cost, maintain control over and expand landholdings and secure market access at favourable prices. In areas such as commercial logging, mining, fishing and aquaculture, a similar large-scale production focus was pushed by the U.S. colonial regime in collaboration with national and regional elites. The ‘old’ landed elite on Negros is still politically powerful, but over the last thirty years or so, there has been an increasingly vocal middle class segment seeking to influence policies and development activities. Some blame the old landed elite for the backward state of the island economy and seek to refocus from extensive natural resource extraction – from plantations, logging, mining and capital-intensive commercial fishing – to environment-friendly and tourist oriented developments. Some
of the children of the old elites are also self-proclaimed protectors of the environment. Former governor and now congressman George Arnaiz\textsuperscript{161} and other elite figures speak of the importance of reforestation, coastal conservation and tourism-led development. Natural landscapes and environments and local cultural traditions are re-interpreted and packaged so as to imbue them with particular kinds of aesthetic and intrinsic value worth protecting and promoting. Value is infused into landscapes and indigenous culture through marketing campaigns and fiesta celebrations. Tourism – however understood – is meant to diversify the basis of the rural economy, encourage sustainable development, create new jobs and earn foreign exchange. While the massive inflow of foreign tourists to Thailand and Malaysia has not spilled over to the Philippines,\textsuperscript{162} the policies and advertising campaigns seem to encourage growth in the ‘domestic’ tourism market and on investment patterns in land and real estate. Overseas Filipino investments in their home country continue to rise. One estimate suggests that about 30 per cent of remittances are spent on housing in the Philippines (Salazar 2005).\textsuperscript{163}

What is striking in Sibuian is the absence of larger-scale tourism projects and the presence of a large number of beach houses. The rapid rise in demand for ‘beachfront properties’ in coastal Sibuian has been facilitated by such factors as the proximity to

\textsuperscript{161} Attorney George Arnaiz, the second district House Representative since 2007 election, comes from one of three families that controlled the logging industry in the province:

\textsuperscript{162} "The Philippines has a lot of catching up to do," says the author of a tourism industry study comparing the Philippines and Thailand (Rodolfo 2003: 25). Despite successive governments’ efforts to speed up the process, the tourist arrivals of foreign nationals to the Philippines have been hovering at about 2 million annually since the mid-1990s. In comparable countries such as Malaysia and Thailand, more than ten million foreign nationals visited each country on tourist visas at the beginning of the twenty-first Century (Rodolfo 2003: 13). In 2002, foreign nationals on tourist visas to the Philippines came primarily from U.S. of A. (20.5 per cent), Japan (17.7 per cent), Korea (14.9 per cent), Hong Kong (8.1 per cent), Taiwan (5.3 per cent) and Australia (3.7 per cent) (Rodolfo 2003: 37). It was estimated that the Philippines received 3.4 million foreign tourists in 2007 while Malaysia had 17 million tourist visitors. In a projection for 2009, it was estimated that there would be 3 to 3.1 million foreign tourists and 8 to 8.5 million Filipino/Philippine resident tourists in the country (Arceo-Dumlao 2009).

\textsuperscript{163} Home mortgage investments are said to develop discipline in the form of forced savings. Overseas remittances through the banking system reached 16.4 billion US dollars in 2008, up from 12.8 billion in 2006.
Dumaguete City (about 5 km.) and various infrastructure developments (road, electricity, water, airport, landline, cable television, mobile phone networks). Manila is only an hour away by air. That a few elite families started to buy beachfront lots about 30 years ago may have speeded up some of these infrastructural developments. It has also motivated other elite figures and aspiring classes to establish themselves in the same area. Instead of tourism per se, the conditions that have triggered the rapid rise in demand for the ‘rural idyll’ and ‘beachfront properties’ in Sibulan will here be explored through the livelihood and leisure ‘projects’ and environmental concerns of emerging middle-class and new rich segments of Philippine society (Pinches 1999). Members of these segments, along with some of the children of the ‘old’ landed elite, have through transnational educational, work and holiday experiences come to see the province or their ‘island of origin’ in new ways.

**Beachfront property owners in Sibulan**

Much of the beachfront of Sibulan has already been bought up, subdivided and sold to ‘rich newcomers.’ In 2006, there were about eighty-five lots that had been bought for beach housing, recreation and investment purposes by richer families and individuals. Seawalls protected almost all of these lots and had in several cases been built to extend properties into the sea.

The table shows a sample of occupations and citizenship (if not Filipino\(^\text{164}\)) held by some of the newcomers who owned beachfront properties in Sibulan, along with additional information obtained from the survey conducted in 2006:

\(^{164}\) I use the concept of ‘Filipino’ loosely, including Philippine citizens and others who self-identify as Filipino even if they have citizenship in other countries. Also Chinese and Spanish Filipino fit into this category. During Spanish colonial rule, until the second half of the nineteenth century, ‘Filipinos’ referred to Spaniards born in the Philippines. *Indio* was a pejorative name referring to the Malays (or Austronesians) of the Philippines. ‘*Peninsular*’ referred to Spaniards born in Spain. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, mestizos with a “newfound sense of national identity” began to refer to themselves as ‘Filipinos’ (Aguilar 1998: 105). The legal distinction between mestizo and *indio* introduced by the Spanish was in due course substituted by the “homogenizing ‘Filipino’ under American colonial rule.

FIL-EU refers to Philippine-European and FIL-AM to Philippine-American.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rich newcomers</th>
<th>Financial services, hotel and restaurant businesses, sugar plantation and fishpond owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barangay captain, wife is nurse in Canada</td>
<td>Room girl at five star hotel in Canada (OFW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired, was married to a Swede (widow), FIL-EU</td>
<td>Architect, FIL-AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City councilor, Dumaguete, owner of coconut factory</td>
<td>Owner of Overseas Filipino recruitment agency and beach lot investor (from Manila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former municipal assessor, retired</td>
<td>Business owner, Dumaguete City, beach house rented out to FIL-AM family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer programmer, lives in the U.S. (FIL-AM)</td>
<td>Seaman (OFW), rents out house to retired chemist, FIL-AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired, former owner of gasoline station</td>
<td>Sugar planter, wife is medical technician in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar and resort owner, was married to a German (widow)</td>
<td>Owner of successful chicken restaurant chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer, mother was medical doctor</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner of construction company (Dumaguete City)</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>Cottage rental business, former OFW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University teacher</td>
<td>Retired FIL-AM couple, children in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner, former overseas worker</td>
<td>Sugar planter, business owner in Dumaguete City, family members live in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist, Dumaguete City</td>
<td>Owner of golf course and several other businesses (partner of former Senate President of the Philippines, Manny Villar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired DPWH engineer, teacher, one child owns architect business in Manila.</td>
<td>Retired banker and stock exchange broker, owner of Pension house in Sibulan, active scuba diver, Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin office worker, husband is seaman (OFW)</td>
<td>Municipal councilor, daughter works in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner of two pension houses in Dumaguete City and a small resort in Sibulan</td>
<td>Swiss (47), disability pension/insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner of real estate company, three factories (sugar mills, coconut), large-scale trader of commodities, etc.</td>
<td>Works in the U.S. and use the beach house for vacations (FIL-AM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical doctor and owner of medical lab business</td>
<td>Owner of two Petron stations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner of several businesses in Dumaguete city, medical doctor</td>
<td>German married to Philippine citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss, retired, married (FIL-EU)</td>
<td>Businessman, has business in Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner of construction company in Cebu City</td>
<td>Businesswoman, rents out beach house to judge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The information on 'occupation' of those who have bought beachfront properties and some of their family members is not comprehensive. The table mentions only a few of the occupations of other family members and their whereabouts and citizenship. The table reflects that, while the majority of people on Negros were farmers, fishers and sugarcane labourers during the twentieth century, the occupational categories have been more numerous than in some other parts of the rural Philippines. Aspirations for higher education, overseas migration, modern sector jobs and professional careers have been common among members of better-placed households throughout the 20th century. The table, along with other information I have collected, suggest that the background of beach house and lot buyers is relatively diverse. A wide range of architectural styles reflect some aspects of their diverse backgrounds. Some are modest looking and some are big, expensive and 'showy'-looking. Beach houses and properties have been bought by a mix of descendants of the 'old' landed elite, an emerging class of professionals, entrepreneurs, Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) and receivers of larger sums of remittances from family members abroad. Some draw their money primarily from overseas. Others are educated professionals and business owners in Dumaguete City, Manila or Hong Kong. Some are still part of the landed elite of Negros. Some have married 'foreigners.' One beach house owner works as a room girl in a five star hotel in Canada. Others are retirees of different nationalities. There are also government officials and members of the legal establishment who have invested in beach lots. They all share in the view that the coastline has value as a recreational and residential area.

In terms of self-identification, Spanish-Filipino owned 5 per cent and Chinese-Filipino 17 per cent of the 85 beach lots bought by richer newcomers or investors. Most presented themselves to me as Filipino, also in cases where they had dual citizenship. About 15 per cent were Philippine-European couples and 3 per cent Philippine-Japanese.

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165 One woman married to a Spanish-Filipino told me that she is ¼ Chinese, ¼ Filipino and the rest a mix from other East Asian ancestors, perhaps with a dash of Irish in there as well. She sees the Philippines to be a 'melting pot' of different cultures. These categories illustrate the range of citizenship and national identities many of my informants used to describe themselves and others. The point here is not to ascribe specific cultural attributes to these categories.
couples, all Philippine women married to European and Japanese men. Some of the Filipino women who had married 'foreigners' were widowed. About 5 per cent were foreign nationals in business partnership with Filipinos. (Foreign nationals are not allowed to own land in the Philippines).

The beachfront properties can be divided into four categories:

**Table 6.2: Uses of beachfront property**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uses of beachfront property</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empty beach lots (for sale or investment purpose)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential housing, commuters and retirees</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacation housing</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resorts, pension houses, cottage rental places</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2006, about 34 per cent of the 85 subdivided beach lots in barangay Amio, Minaba and Talak were empty, either bought for investment purposes and up for sale, or pending construction until tenure security has been more firmly established and building permits granted. Some lots have been empty for one to two decades, but have nevertheless changed owners several times. 29.4 per cent of the lots were used for residential housing for commuters working in Dumaguete City and retirees. 28.2 per cent of the beach properties were used as vacation houses by people living in Dumaguete City, Manila and other places in the Philippines and abroad. The remainder were four small resorts (or beach hotels), a pension house and two larger ‘cottage’ rental businesses.166

166 I have not included the cottage rental businesses of long-term settled beach dwellers here. Except for the cottage rental business of Olivia Parena, mentioned in Chapter Five, these tend to be much smaller in scale and they are not part of the 'beachfront property'-buyer segment analysed in this section.

The cottage rental and beach business establishments in Sibulan catered to different segments of beachgoers:
The four categories of richer newcomers and property owners in coastal Sibulan are somewhat overlapping and fluctuating. Those who use beach houses as residential units have other family members using the same house as a vacation home. Some beach houses used for vacation purposes this year can become a family member's residence next year. Small resorts sometimes close down business and are used as either residential units, vacation homes or are rented out. Jennifer, introduced above, used the beach lot both for business and vacation, but her real interest in the land was to earn a return on her investment. Several of the lots with no houses constructed on them were equipped with sheds for daytime swimmers and rented out for beach parties, weddings receptions, and so forth. I estimate that 15-20 per cent of the beach houses were rented out or were available for rent when the survey was conducted in 2006.

55 of 85 beachfront properties in the field site were located in Talak. 36 of these were titled properties. The remainder were registered with a lot number for tax purposes at the assessor's office. The owners of the non-titled properties were in the process of applying for title and/or Foreshore Lease (see Appendix 7.1 for information on Foreshore Lease Agreement). In Minaba, due partly to the longstanding legal case over the land in the area, almost all the 'beachfront properties' had been bought or claimed without Torrens title (18 out of 20). In Amio, of the 10 lots which had been established

• the 'masa' segment was catered to by suppliers of relatively simple 'cottages' that rented from 50 to 100 pesos per day. Olivia's picnic sheds fall into this category. Her place was visited mostly by 'working class' beachgoers from Dumaguete. Many other beach dwellers had also built a few cottages for rent;
• 'cottage' rental places for an emerging middle class willing to pay 250-500 pesos per day for better facilities (electricity, barbeque, toilets) – Jennifer's place;
• a cottage and bungalow rental place with billiard, bar and karaoke. This establishment was popular among somewhat better-off college students. The owner organised live-band concerts and skimboard competitions;
• guest houses, family run hotels and small resorts with swimming pool, walled-in lots, entrance fee and a ban against customers bringing their own foods and drinks.

Several smaller sari-sari stores had been established by coastal dwellers to serve the beach visitors, but only a few were able to earn more than a small sideline income from these. I have to point out that the
as ‘beachfront property,’ had title. The rich newcomers who bought house lots from lumad coastal dwellers in Amio established relatively small beach houses. This may reflect the contested status of their landownership claims. Some beach lot buyers take the risk of buying ‘rights’ in an informal market, knowing that the land tenure status is uncertain or that there are ongoing court cases. This is a kind of gamble: They buy comparatively cheap beachfront land and then sponsor court cases to remain in possession of the land and try to secure tenure. Others are unaware of the contested nature of these lots at the time they buy them.

The price of beachfront properties has shown exponential growth, increasing rapidly from the mid-1990s. The price of titled land along the beach was in 2006 around 5000 pesos per square meter. Titled land further inland from the shoreline sold for approximately 200-300 pesos per square meter.

Apart from the rapid increase in the value of land, business at the small resorts and beach hotels in Sibulan was during the time of my fieldwork slow as guests were few. In the late 1980s and first half of the 1990s, there were more foreign and Filipino tourists at the two beach hotels and dive shops which were then operative. The picnic rental places were in 2006 much more popular. One important reason for the decline in tourism is that since the mid-1990s, divers, snorkelers and other beach tourists have been increasingly routed to the new resorts built closer to Apo Island, about half an hour drive south of Sibulan, in the municipality of Dauin. Apo is known as one of the best dive sites in the Philippines. Sibulan used to get dive tourists in the 1990s, but the two dive businesses that were operating have closed down. The resorts are sometimes rented out for private celebratory functions, such as weddings and graduation parties.

There was a relatively strong ‘American connection’ among the owners of beachfront properties in Sibulan. The idea of ‘America’ is still a powerful idiom shaping the
daytime visitors only arrived in large numbers during weekends and on public holidays. During regular working days, there were few visitors.
aspirations of many Filipinos. The dream of going to ‘America’ (or the ‘West’ or ‘Rich World’) and return back home with enhanced status continues to shape desires, educational choices, marriage partners and career paths of many (as the example of Leah in the previous chapter illustrates).

The vast majority of beachfront property buyers in Sibulan were not complete strangers to Negros Oriental province. Most were from the province or had close family members who lived there. Many find themselves in a context where work and leisure are more clearly (and formally) defined into separate spheres and takes place in different locales, increasingly also the ‘work abroad and leisure at home’-phenomenon.

People’s attachment to place depends on where other significant family members and friends live. It also depends on age, education, socio-economic status and aspirations for the future. Some are in the middle of a professional career and cannot get the kind of job to which they aspire in the area where they live. If they have children of their own, they may have good reasons to live where they live. Children growing up in the U.S. may not develop nostalgia for a Philippine homeland. It also depends on the kind of attachment people have maintained with the place where they grew up. In Negros Oriental, college graduates who work in Manila and overseas are keeping in touch with former class mates. Reunions at Silliman University, in particular, are a big thing and an occasion for long-time friends and former class mates to come together. Fedeliza and her husband, in the example above, did use one such re-union to develop a romantic relationship which led to marriage. Many Manila and overseas professionals return to their province of origin regularly. Apart from school reunions, they attend fiestas, weddings and funerals. Christmas and Holy Week are popular periods for family reunions. They seek out investment opportunities, leisure dreams and retirement plans in their province, island or region of origin. Many express a strong desire to return for retirement.¹⁶⁷ For the vast

¹⁶⁷ There is of course a ‘classic’ bias in the data I have collected that stems from the fact that I have interviewed only those who fit the category who come back to their ‘island of origin’ regularly or have come back more permanently. Those who have moved out permanently or did not return while research was conducted easily ‘escape’ my attention. I don’t know their situation and motives for not returning, 194
majority, Sibulan is not their town of origin. While place and kin idioms are still used to construct sense of belonging, by re-establishing themselves with a beach house outside their neighbourhood or home town of origin, it may be that many rich newcomers to coastal Sibulan seek to escape kinship and neighbourhood obligations.

The gated beach house: A distinctive form of re-embedding
To own a beach house in coastal Sibulan is prestigious. It reflects the acquired status of those who have done well in life, been able to go out to accumulate money and cultural capital and come back with stories to tell, new leisure practices adopted (golf, tennis, scuba diving, sailing) and wealth to display. It is a sign of someone who is capable of appreciating (in a certain distinctive-aesthetic way) ocean view, beach leisure and fresh seafoods – someone who has acquired a ‘good taste’ and knows what to appreciate in life. Architecture, music, fashion, tradition, luxury goods, hobbies, education, comportment, and the location of one’s house are markers of distinction.

There are some significant differences in how richer newcomers relate to place. Some have bought a beach lot as a portfolio investment and live elsewhere, perhaps having hired a local helper to look after the property or just put up a tall wall around the lot to prevent others from settling on the land. They may have hired local labour to build the brick wall, but have no interest in and intention of maintaining the relationship. Many richer newcomers to Sibulan have built walls around their properties to physically shield themselves from or regulate their interactions with people in the local community, but also to protect their properties. Some put up signs saying “Private property. No trespassing.” The tall brick walls put up around the lots of many richer newcomers signal their desire for privacy and lack of interest in socialising with the barangay people living around them. The walls also represent a suspicion of the locals and literally signify class barriers.

nor do I know the size of this group. All I know is what other family members said about other family members whereabouts, work and residence histories. Other researchers have documented a strong circular pattern to Filipino migration.
Some of the richer newcomers find these walls ugly. There is contestation over what counts as success, how wealth should be spent and what credentials give high social value. The tastes and ideas of what constitute the ‘good life’ differ among richer newcomers. There are what Bourdieu calls “class fractions” (1984) among beach house owners: “They have built houses that are showy,” said Alvero, referring to the large beach houses of some of the nouveau rich in Talak. Alvero, of Spanish descent, has had a successful career as an architect in the U.S. He moved back to the Philippines in the mid-1990s and built a native style beach house which did not stick out as pretentious. It was designed to be “functional and comfortable.” Built largely with coconut lumber, bamboo and nipa palm, the modern amenities were hidden within the house. Alvero had wooden fencing around his property and it was possible for outsiders to look through the fence.

Regardless of the type of fencing used and the kind of class distinctions invoked, the beach house is an important site for bringing selected people together with whom the owner(s) maintain and pursue relationships: the nuclear family, siblings and their partners and children, parents, close friends, former class mates, business partners, work colleagues, and other people beach house owners want to be with, or feel obligations to spend time with, during holidays and on other occasions. The beach house provides a homely, relaxed atmosphere for maintaining a sense of place and local belonging under conditions of great movement, while at the same time allowing for effective gatekeeping. To have one’s children and grandchildren around during the holidays, or to organise parties for friends or an association, was important to many beach house owners.

In general, richer newcomers are not interested themselves in becoming full members of place-based communities since these emerge and evolve in significant ways from everyday, face-to-face interaction in a neighbourhood which over time produce a high degree of familiarity and a shared history. They do not seek to become local and lumad.
‘Rich newcomers’ tend not to be described as langyaw, but as agalon or boss, or rich. They see themselves as mobile, not as migrants. They are building up a partial belonging to many places, a network of place links and relationships maintained through mobility, communications technology, financial resources and ownership and control of property – a beach house in Sibulan, a mango farm in the rolling hill landscape of Negros, an apartment in Makati (the high-end business and restaurant district in Manila). Many have close ties with relatives in the U.S. It is not the local coastal community of fisher folk, farmers and lower-class labourers they themselves seek to be part of and acquire recognition from. They do, however, draw status from owning a beach house next to other rich or well-off people and some are keen to improve neighbourhoods to become more like what they want them to be.

**Lumad selling land**

Control over territory is one key aspect of lumad authority, yet lumad families have in several instances sold lots to rich newcomers. As long as this practice did not imply displacement of family members or close neighbours, there seems to have been little opposition to these transactions. The rich newcomers were not seen as a threat to localism, at least not to begin with. The beach itself, as I have mentioned elsewhere, was not considered to be an attractive place to have one’s house among these families. They wanted to have their houses less exposed to strong wind and big waves. Ocean view was not important to them. It was partly a result of displacement pressure that fisher-farmers and landless labourers settled onto the beach.

As elsewhere in the world, local coastal populations of fishers and farmers tend to be amazed that the highest demand is for lots exposed to strong wind (Löfgren 1999: 123).

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168 Shoreline lumad brokers were not the only party successfully claiming and selling beach lots during the 1980s and 1990s. In Talak, some of the larger lots were first sold by long-term residents of Talak who owned several parcels of agricultural land and were not members of the fishing community. Also elected political leaders and government officials at the municipal level and barangay captains have been involved in many of these transactions, as sellers, middlemen and buyers.
The rich newcomers want to have houses with a view of the sea and the coastline. When I interviewed Maura Polido, seventy years of age, a wall was under construction on the beach lot across the road from her house in barangay Talak. The beach lot had been bought by a Filipino-Japanese couple and the brick wall would close down the view of the sea from Maura's house. The Polido family had not themselves sold lots in this area, as another lumad family held title to much of the land along the beach. I asked Maura if she was sad to see the ocean view from her house disappear. Maura said no. To make sure she understood the question, I asked again, from different angles, but Maura did not place any special emotional or aesthetic value on being able to see the ocean from her house. The wall would be a good wind and wave breaker, two grandsons of Maura joked. As fishermen, their orientation to the coastline was surely different from that of the richer newcomers. While they were concerned with securing access to the beach and space to store boats and gear, they thought the rich newcomers were a bit stupid wanting to pay so much money for beachfront properties. These different perceptions create opportunities of 'win-win,' at least in the short-run, but they may also be a source of future misunderstandings and conflict, as I will show later.

The history of land tenure and use and the residential status of already settled groups in each location have influenced who has been able to claim and sell land along the shore. In Amio, some lumad families were able to sell smaller areas of the beach to richer newcomers, claiming ownership based on long-term possession and membership in lumad families. The first lots were sold around 1980. This gave the sellers lump-sums of money, mostly somewhat better-off lumad households. In costal Minaba, local government officials, such as the former head of the assessors office of Sibulan and a barangay captain, have sold and brokered the deals of several beach lots. They have also established their own beach houses along the same stretch of the beach. The 'poor newcomers' in Amio and Minaba have, with only one exception, been prevented from selling land along the shore to rich newcomers. In Talak, the beachfront properties have

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The original title holder was a relatively well-off lumad family with members owning several hectares of agricultural land in Talak.
been sold in a more formalised fashion and more of the shoreline has been sold to richer newcomers than in Amio and Minaba (where land tenure insecurity and conflict have been a much more prevalent phenomenon).

Apart from investing money from land sales in higher education and overseas migration, money has in many cases been used to upgrade houses. By building concrete style houses, coastal dwellers, literally speaking, ground themselves more firmly to a house lot. Some of the money has been invested in local business, such as sari-sari stores, tricycles, small-scale piggeries and in new boats and gear, various productive resources which all can be used to realise localism. Some lumad brokers take up new roles as the beach economy alters, some investing in sheds rented out to beach goers, although this option is only open to those who still have space for it. It may also be a temporary livelihood strategy to accumulate funds for investment in ‘projects’ which will gradually remove them from a fuller participation in dense and multiplex neighbourhood relations.

Land sold during the 1980s and first half of the 1990s looks in retrospect to have been sold at a very low price. The extended family of Mar Florentino sold several beach lots in the northern part of Talak. Mar sold the first lot to a dentist back in 1979, for 70,000 pesos, about 1600 sq. m. In 1985, they sold another lot to a medical doctor. The price was 60,000 pesos for 1500 sq. m. In 2006, these lots could probably be sold for 7.5 million pesos each. Many people wanted to buy the remaining portion of the beach where Ed and his family lived, but as mentioned in Chapter Four, Mar was not willing to sell more, being a fisherman with a strong commitment to localism. Mar’s daughters thought it a bit crazy, the price that these lots sell for today. And the thought must surely have entered their minds: ‘should we also sell’ or ‘why did we sell the beach lots so cheaply in the past.’

As the beach began to be valued as lucrative real estate, instead of fragmentation, lumads sought to restrict the landownership claims of those who had settled at a later
time and had no or only peripheral kinship links to the established families in the area. By more strongly emphasising their ownership of the beach and selling some lots to newcomers, they may at one level have been able to strengthen their position in the local community. While lumad brokers need to maintain a certain degree of control over coastal space for residence, livelihood and other social activities to realise successful forms of localism, the size of their house lots is not the source of their power and influence in a neighbourhood (“Look at the size of my ‘land,’” said a fisherman as he pointed to the sea). At the same time, it used to be the case that lumad brokers and neighbourhood leaders were key decision-makers with respect to settlement along the beach. Today, some of them have lost much of their control over developments along the beach. The question of whether the commodification of beaches has undermined lumad authority and severely hampered the conditions for localism cannot be answered with a resounding yes or no. The answer has to be nuanced; the situation is different for different settler groups and also changes over time. Furthermore, to have any success at evaluating the outcome, it is necessary to look closer at the relationships between rich newcomers and already settled families. To what extent are lower-income coastal dwellers able to establish valued relationships with richer newcomers and draw on these as a resource to realise their own localist ‘projects’?

New livelihood opportunities and ‘partnerships’
While both langyaw and lumad ‘fisher folks’ have obtained a new neighbourhood market channel for selling seafoods, lumads are generally better positioned to tap into the social networks of richer newcomers, making relationships as house helpers, caretakers, drivers and sometimes as ‘partners’ in fishing operations with the rich newcomers. Lumads who have sold some of their own land to rich newcomers tend to have better and more ongoing relationships with rich newcomers. Through these relationships, they channel work opportunities to family members living in the neighbourhood. In the cases where rich newcomers have bought ‘rights’ to land from lumads in an informal market and live on the same lot, they have in some cases had to
team up to defend themselves against eviction pressure from a third party (see Chapter Seven). The legal expenses are then shouldered by the rich newcomer, while *lumads* claim rights to the land based on long-term possession, links to the ‘original people of the place’ and a right to livelihood, residence and survival.

Rich newcomers may seek to establish security and gain support for various coastal ‘projects.’ The local issues with which richer newcomers are most concerned are the tenure security of their lots (seek to turn lesser rights into ownership) and environmental issues (in particular garbage along the beach, different kinds of pollution of the sea, coral destruction, depletion of marine resources). These ‘middle-class’ anxieties form the basis of intervention. Many poorer coastal dwellers are also concerned with these issues, but their approach to and view of them may differ considerably from their richer newcomers, as I will show later. While most rich newcomers do not want to develop more substantial relationships with their poorer neighbours, some have developed relatively extensive relationships with some of their employees, ‘partners’ and proximate neighbours.

“Alvero is a really good neighbour”

Manuel Alvero, a rich newcomer, had positioned himself as a ‘pro-community’ man. He grew up in Santa Catalina, on the southwestern coast of Negros. His father worked for the Philippine constabulary, mapping forest resources in the archipelago. The Alvero family was also established in commercial purse seine fishing as early as 1945.

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170 Rich beach house owners expressed considerable concern over what they perceived to be pollution, environmental destruction, barangay people’s ignorance, excessive drunkenness, noisy crowds and other threats to the ‘rural idyll.’ They did not want their beach house to be located in an area which teems with a “noxious populace.” In France during the mid-eighteenth century, influenced by Academie Royale des Sciences and the Societe Royale de Medecine, “the chief focus of ecological worries” among public authorities and provincial elites was on overcrowded urban areas which “teemed with noxious populace” (Corbin 1995: 146). New ecological and medical knowledge “paved the way for and defined a model of anxiety, vigilance and intervention.” (ibid.).

171 There were only three commercial purse seiners in the Santa Catalina and Bayawan area at the time. The cost of the boat was 5000 pesos, but fishing was so good that they got their money back in less than a year. They had 38 fishermen working on the boat, some pulling the net (200 fathoms long) and others were divers. Their main catch was a small tuna they called *bonito*. Sometimes they could get as many as
Manuel, who bought a beach lot and built a house in Sibulan, went to Silliman University in Dumaguete City just after WWII. He then lived a year in Manila before moving with his wife to the U.S. in 1952. After a long and successful professional career as an architect in the U.S., he moved back to the Philippines in 1995. That was also the year he designed and had built a beach house in Sibulan, mostly of native materials. He bought a 400 sq. m lot from a business woman in Dumaguete who had initially bought it from a lumad family who sold a portion of their own lot. Alvero thus became their new neighbour.

Alvero was a regular buyer of seafoods from the local fishermen and always paid an above average rate for labour services hired for driving, construction work and housekeeping. Apart from being a regular buyer of seafoods and employer of people for various tasks, the most important service Alvero provided, in the opinion of most residents living on the same stretch of the beach, was to sponsor the eviction case launched against them by an absentee landowner (see Chapter Seven). Alvero also paid the premium of the insurance of bantay dagat, the sea warden squad created as part of the Coastal Resource Management Project (see Chapter Eight). In 2000, he encouraged and sponsored the formation of a local youth organisation. The main purpose for promoting the formation of the youth organisation was to have the beach cleaned up and to teach the young about the value and vulnerability of the environment. He had talked to the mayor about the lack of streetlights, garbage disposal facilities and septic tanks.

It could be said that Alvero had taken over the role of lumad brokers and neighbourhood leaders by providing many essential services to neighbours. However, lumad leadership is

100 cases of fish, “it was too much fish.” The fish was brought to Dumaguete, where Guillermo had a regular buyer.

172 Alvero and his wife were keen to know if I knew of an international NGO focused on coastal clean-ups and environmental awareness training.
not necessarily undermined by rich newcomers who intervene in neighbourhood improvement projects. *Lumad* brokers and neighbourhood *lider* have been keen to develop relationships with richer newcomers. They are expected to develop such relationships by members of their families. *Lumad* brokers tend to be aware of some of the needs of the beach house owners, their demand for labour, interest in neighbourhood improvement projects, and so forth, and seek to enhance their local reputation for obtaining funds for such projects. *Lumad* brokers are expected to ask beach house owners for support for various events or projects, such as money to cover some of the costs of organising the annual coastal clean-up, or running local associations (fishermen, women, youth), or organise a Christmas party. They will also claim credit for some of the help and assistance provided by rich newcomers. At the same time, to the extent neighbourhood *lider* and *lumad* brokers are tasked with pushing improvement projects which their followers have little interest in, they may find themselves caught in a difficult position and risk weakening the relationship with their ‘pro-community’ richer neighbours.

Although he did not seek to become *lumad*, Alvero expressed a desire to help, educate and guide the locals, improve the area and find forms of peaceful co-existence with the local community. At times, it was difficult to find such forms of co-existence. During weekends, when Amio beach filled up with college students and ‘working class’ picnickers from Dumaguete and elsewhere, karaoke systems played on full volume and invaded the privacy of the serenity seekers. Alvero and his wife often retreated to their mountain ‘cottage’ during weekends to escape the ‘noise,’ ‘commotion’ and what they saw as excessive drinking at the many beach parties that transformed the atmosphere along the shoreline. They had not only a different taste in music, but for them, the beach house was a place for tranquillity, to listen to the sound of waves pounding the beach, to feel the sea breeze, enjoy the ocean view, stroll along the beach during low tide, and to take a cooling bathe. Nevertheless, Alvero remained attached to his beach house and recently also invested in a new house on the same lot for one of his children, a U.S. citizen who came to visit with his family during vacations. Alvero also continued to hire
‘helpers’ from his lumad neighbours and be a regular buyer of seafoods, maintaining somewhat closer and more extensive relationships with a few of them. When the older brother of Alvero became sick and looked to be dying, a caretaker from the neighbourhood was at the bedside in the hospital for more than two weeks.

I will with the following example elaborate on one such relationship between status unequals to learn more about their value for both parties.

Rose’s debt of gratitude to her employer: New class relations on the beach

While many women have worked as house ‘helpers’ (katabang) for better-off urbanites in Dumaguete, Manila and elsewhere for a long time, some of them are now working for superordinates in their own neighbourhoods. In 2002, Rose, the emerging house group leader introduced in Chapter Four, was hired as a housekeeper for a better-off family of educated professionals who bought a beach house close to her own house in Amio. Rose is from a relatively poor fishing household. She got the job as a caretaker and house ‘helper’ on recommendation from a cousin who lived next to the beach house owner. The cousin was the daughter of a lumad broker who had initially sold this portion of the beach to a businesswoman in Dumaguete. Apart from opening up a new channel of income, Rose’s job as a caretaker for this family had some other consequences. The owner of the beach house had Rose’s husband, Ryan, build a motorised outrigger canoe (pamboat) which they occasionally used to go on snorkelling trips. But as they seldom used the boat, Ryan was free to use the boat for his own fishing. To more conveniently organise their stay in Sibulan, the owner of the beach house bought a mobile phone for Rose. Ryan and Rose felt a ‘debt-of-gratitude’ (utang kabubut-on) to their employer and reciprocated with fish give-aways and, in general, by being helpful and friendly and looking after the property.

On Christmas Day 2006, Rose worked in the beach house of her employer. She was busy and asked her sister and husband for help. They had to prepare a seafood lunch for
the beach house-owner’s family and their visiting friends. The owners and their visiting friends had come together in the beach house for the holiday, two from their hometown on Negros Island, six from Manila and two from the U.S. Fresh seafoods are commonly served on these occasions, such as *kinilaw* (‘raw’ fish) and grilled *nokos* (squid). Rose’s husband walked down the beach to tell fishing households he wanted to buy squid, coral trout and other seafoods. Rose’s sister went to the market in Dumaguete City to buy more seafoods and other ingredients. The activity level was high in the kitchen throughout the morning. Rose and the female head of the beach house worked next to each other, joking and sharing stories while preparing the lunch. From time to time, Rose, no doubt, was intimately involved in aspects of the lives of some of the family members she worked for. Jean-Paul Dumont observed in a similar context on a neighbouring island that the maid “often seemed to disappear from sight and from consciousness when her intervention was neither expected nor solicited...Restraint and distance could alternate with amazing fluidity with familiarity and intimacy, as the days passed and as activities changed” (1994: 190, 185). Rose occupied an ambiguous role in the household she worked in, both being central to household processes and developing intimate relations, but also being marginal to the household, unable to become a member or to join their rank. Rose had to switch between being informal and showing respect by using the appropriate titles. Rose had developed the skills to quickly sense the mood of her employer and responded accordingly. She tried to surprise the better-off people she worked for by doing more than they expected, whether in terms of shining up the house, ironing clothes, making Christmas decorations and taking care of the garden outside the house. Certainly, her employer had grown very dependent upon her expertise and workload around the house. Apart from a regular monthly income and a flow of leftover foods, the matron in the family reciprocated by sponsoring Rose’s fiesta celebration.

Rose interpreted her relationship with at least some of the members of the family she worked for as very important to her and intimate at times. There were moments in the house when they could talk about this and that in a very relaxed atmosphere. In the
process, they developed genuine interest in aspects of each other’s lives. Farewell-hugs were emotional. There was mutual dependence here. Nevertheless, as they shared space in the beach house occasionally and lived according to a different temporality, Rose’s relationship with her employer and other family members and visitors to the beach house were episodic. Their relationships were consociate rather than all-encompassing (Amit 2002a: 16). Furthermore, the beach house owner was her agalon, boss or employer. There was no doubt that they were located in very different class positions and that the wealth differential between them was huge. The members of the beach house owner family have their orientation to many places and are not seeking the acknowledgement of the poorer coastal dwellers for their own self-development. In the final analysis, this is a dependence that has moved only marginally away from the one described by Hegel in the ‘masters/slave’-parable in the “Phenomenology of Spirit,” where “the outcome is a recognition that is one-sided and unequal” (1977: 116).

While sometimes investing much hope into such relationships, poorer coastal dwellers usually have a wide range of experiences relating to richer newcomers and higher-status persons. The evaluations poor people make of better-off villagers with whom they have ongoing relationships tend to be “a composite of opposing tendencies” (Kerkvliet 1990: 88). Someone who is generally regarded as a ‘good person’ will in some situations be much stricter. Kerkvliet is right in stressing that while people of rank and wealth are seen to be powerful, they do not necessarily have respect. The way beach house

173 It is in the section on the master and the slave (or ‘lordship and bondage’ in Findlay’s translation) in the Phenomenology of Spirit that Hegel lays out the conditions for the creation of self-consciousness: “Self-consciousness exists in and for itself when, and by the fact that, it so exists for another; that is, it exists only in being acknowledged” (Hegel 1977[1807]: 111). It is from others that I obtain recognition of my being for my self. Furthermore, the value of the others’ recognition of me depends on the value of my recognition of others.

174 To become indebted to the ‘other’ is a way of demonstrating trust and establishing relationships, a starting point for developing more meaningful relationships and ‘debt on the inside’ (utang kabubut-on), a debt of gratitude which, through the exchanges that are generated, become the basis for ‘joining together selves’ as more equal partners, despite their unequal social status (Cannell 1999). Kerkvliet points out that this allows for subtle forms of exploitation. While wanting to be able to provide for themselves:
owners relate to and interact with poorer villagers vary over time, with their mood swings, and as they develop other kinds of interests and commitments.

Alvero is “a good payer,” “a really good neighbour,” and “helping with the land,” said George, a fulltime fisher living in the house next to Alvero. Leo said something similar about the Aquino family: “They are really good neighbours.” They are friendly, interesting to talk with and they buy fish. However, “Mrs. Aquino always offers a very low price [for the fish Leo has caught]. Kurripot siya [she is stingy]. My wife gets a better price from their son.” Some beach house owners are said to be “very strict.” Others are “selfish” and do not want to share (dili manghatag). The rich newcomers are not particularly vulnerable to village gossip about them, however. Many have good access to government power and permission. If they fail to live up to the expectations some poorer coastal dwellers have to them – perhaps seeking to find among them a benevolent person, a provider of jobs, sponsors of education and fiesta celebrations – the richer newcomers may ignore the criticism and isolate themselves from their poorer neighbours by building higher fences, employ caretakers and housekeepers from elsewhere, stop buying fish and hire a security guard.

The fact that Rose was a member of a lumad family in the neighbourhood may have reduced the chance of overt and direct abuse from her employer. Furthermore, if she had felt the relationship was no longer beneficial, she could quit the job. Although she thought the monthly allowance could have been a bit higher, her relationship with the rich newcomer family was one which she looked at as largely beneficial and at times

“many villagers deliberately attach themselves to richer, more influential individuals in order to improve their chances of dealing with realities they must face. In this way, they purposefully put themselves in deferential relationships...[V]illagers are often aware that while they seek a modicum of reliable protection or security, the better-off to whom they are attached are taking advantage of their desperation and weakness” (1990: 263).

Many poor coastal dwellers tell stories of abusive, strict, rude and stingy superordinates, employers of various kinds who look down upon them with a condescending gaze. At the same time, as Cannell argues with her "model of process" view of debt relations, these relationships also provide the basis for
very important. What was crucial to Rose was to have a regular source of income while at the same time be intimately involved in house group and neighbourhood affairs. In addition, her employer opened up a new market for selling fish and other marine products. Some of the beach house owners who live in their houses more or less permanently have become regular buyers of seafoods. While all fishing households can sell fish to picnickers and neighbours, Rose was able to tap into the network of kin and friends of her employer, people who had visited or used the beach house from time to time. Some of them lived in Dumaguete and Rose sent text messages via her mobile phone when fresh fish of high demand were caught by her husband, brothers and brother-in-law. Through this housekeeping job in her own neighbourhood, Rose was better able to help keep her own house group together. She worked hard to allow members of her sibling group social mobility through localism. At the same time, the rich newcomers’ presence, their large houses, expensive cars, abundance of food and household appliances continuously reminds coastal dwellers of a wealth difference which is much wider than the one between lumad brokers and barangay regulars.

When Leah, the daughter of a neighbourhood lider who recently moved to Ohio, USA, spoke to me about the poverty of her family, it was the rich newcomer class she used as a reference group for assessing her own family’s standard of living. Rose, too, would of course like to be better off economically, but her ambitions were more modest, partly as a result of her own family’s more precarious livelihood situation, her experiences and background shaping her expectations and outlook. The close relationship with some of the members of the beach house owner family helped Rose in her quest to pursue social mobility within a place-based community framework.

For cosmopolitans, the beach house is an important site for family re-unions. The house is designed to provide an aura of leisure and relaxation, but is also a symbol of success or high cultural and financial capital. The maid, in the background of the overall re-negotiating the terms of exchange and, in some cases, lay the foundation for establishing a closer, more substantial relationship, familiarity and mutual respect.

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‘project,’ prepares the ground for her employer’s comfortable living, as she works to sustain and improve the conditions of her own family. She gets intimately involved in household processes and may develop a strong attachment to and personal connection with some of the members of the family she works for. She provides stability to their beach house lives.

**New trends**

In 2006, Bravo, a lawyer and businessman, showed some interest in buying the 5 hectare lot in Minaba titled in the name of Lopez and settled by many former sugarcane workers. Bravo was in partnership with Manuel Villar, the former senate president of the Philippines and one of the richest men in Southeast Asia (see Chapter Seven). That the big-men in Philippine infrastructure and real estate development were taking an interest in shoreline properties in this area signalled a new trend. Another recent trend is that land across the road from the beach was also shooting up in price. By building a tall house, it is still possible to obtain ocean view. One house owner had constructed an artificial hill to secure view of the sea.

I described above how the property investor from Manila, Jennifer, acted as a kind of patron to get acceptance in the new place, collaborating with a lumad family. However, when Jennifer expressed the opinion that the wet portion of the beach in front of her titled lot was also part of her private property, she had little support. The practise of building seawalls into the inter-tidal zone was disliked by wider segments of marine resource users, including those who used the push ‘trawl’ to collect bangus fry and glean or fish in the shallows. These walls make it difficult to pass along the beach during high tide and limit the space available for storing fishing gear and boats. Rich newcomers often defend the construction of seawalls, saying they have to protect their lands and that the Department of Environment and Natural Resources are encouraging the construction of them. A neighbourhood lider in Talak said of the foreshore: “It is public land, sa mga tawo tanan (it is for the people). Below high-tide is komon (‘commons’)...Walay usa makatag-iya” (not one [person] can be owner [of the sea]).
Jennifer worked behind the scene and had tried to build an alliance with other title holders. She acted as a representative of some of the heirs of a formerly prominent *hacendero* family and, since 2006, pushed another legal case for eviction of several members of the family she had been collaborating with. Jennifer was of the opinion that all families living along the coast without formal title are squatters. Jennifer’s involvement in the classification of land along the coast increasingly challenged the opinion of her as being a ‘good neighbour.’ In 2007, she broke off the sponsorship of the family she had supported since the early 1990s. This is one of several relationships between status unequals which may have looked very promising for a while, or even for a longer period of time, and then broke off suddenly.

**Conclusion**

Over the last 25-30 years, ‘beachfront properties’ have been claimed, bought, subdivided and sold, lot-by-lot. The process of ‘parcelisation’ and gentrification has resulted in a square meter price of beachfront properties that is more than twenty times the price of land further away from the beach. The livelihood and leisure desires of beach house buyers are shaped by the expansion of employment, holiday and retirement markets. The ‘discovery’ of the shoreline as lucrative real estate among wealthy people has also led to physical enclosures of about half of the coastline in the field site. ‘Beachfront property’ has in several instances been extended into the sea by the building of seawalls.

Investors and property buyers have flocked to the coastline, but resort developments and tourists are relatively few and far between. Instead, the coastline has become a popular location for establishing beach houses for private use. The beach house has become an important site among mobile and economically better-off groups of Filipinos for nurturing valued relationships and maintaining a connection with their province, island or region of origin. The beach house is a particularly appropriate form of sustaining ‘love of family’ and attachment to place among cosmopolitans. There are new dimensions to the process of separation and re-attachment linked to a proliferation of
cheaper, faster and better transportation and communications technologies combined with the development of institutional and ideological complexes promoting such forms of property ownership, interconnectivity and individualised mobility. The province is no longer ‘far away’ for these more mobile, cosmopolitan subjects.

As the price level of these properties has increased rapidly, this has enticed long-term settled families and others with claim to ownership to sell land. Some members of the families who first settled onto the beach have sold their ‘rights’ to portions of the beach to rich newcomers. The rich newcomers have established beach houses or rest houses next to or interspersed between long-term settled or lumad families. It is not accidental that it is some of the families acting as lumad brokers who have been able to forge the better vertical link in this case. Lumad brokers and other family members of those who sold some of these lots have been keen to develop relationships with the rich newcomers, to some extent seeing them as potential patrons, employers, buyers of fish and sponsors of education and health care. Among urban dwellers in a low-income settlement in Manila, Michael Pinches found people to have limited personal contact with the rich, “partly because of the different class worlds into which their existence is structured, and partly out of the mutual desire for avoidance” (1986: 181). I find a different focus among those who live on the beach and belong to well-established families.

As several lumad family members have had some benefits from the arrival of rich newcomers, resistance to their arrival has not been strong among these more influential families. Coastal Sibulan was at the time of my fieldwork a place for diverse groups of coastal dwellers and visitors. However, ownership patterns and control over the beachfront have changed. In terms of financial benefits, those who have bought beach lots, formalised tenure, built seawalls and resold these lots have benefitted much more than lumad settlers. Furthermore, the ‘mobility’ of land along the coast, or the frequency of change in people who own or rent the beach houses, are factors which influences the
relationships between rich and poor in coastal Sibulan, and hence the opportunity to develop more substantial relationships.

This chapter provides a fuller context for understanding the lumad/langyaw distinction and why lumads have switched their attention away from langyaw to nurture relationships with 'rich newcomers.' In the next chapter, I will show that Jennifer and some other absentee and rich newcomer title holders are working hard to have the coastline re-classified as urban and residential land, and invest in legal cases for eviction. They do not think that lumad status is relevant for deciding who has a right to live along the coastline. This has led to heated conflict and increased displacement pressure. In the next two chapters, I will ask whether the authority of neighbourhood leaders has been undermined by the commodification of beaches and lumads are forced to again rethink their relationship with 'poor newcomers,' perhaps forging a stronger common identity based on similar low-status treatment by rich newcomers, or whether lumad status and leadership has been further consolidated and 'poor newcomers' further marginalised as a consequence of a much stronger cosmopolitan influence and intensified resource conflicts in the coastal zone.
Chapter Seven: Conflicts over land

November 2005. When I arrived, Maria sat on a bench under a shed made of coco lumber and palm leaves. She held a letter between her hands. She had tears in her eyes. A neighbour who knows some English had just given a translation of the letter to Maria. In the ‘demand letter,’ Maria’s family and the nine other families living on “lot nr. 1375” were ordered to “vacate immediately...[I]f you fail to do so,” the lawyer who had written the letter threatened, “I shall commence the necessary suit after fifteen (15) days from your receipt of this letter.” The letter was written in an abstract, legalistic English. It was brief. It did not say who had hired the lawyer.

Maria could not accept what she had just heard. She has lived on this portion of the beach her whole life. She kept on staring at the printed letters on the white paper. She studied the signature of the lawyer at the bottom of the letter: Hansel T. Anito. It was a name she had never come across before. Then she looked at me and said: “Mao ni among lugar” (‘this is our place’).

Maria’s sister, Lilja, had been out selling fish in the neighbourhood. When she returned, she quickly sensed that something was wrong. Lilja sat down next to her sister to see the letter. Lilja, who knew a bit more English than Maria, studied the letter, but struggled to decipher the meaning of several words and expressions – “relative thereto,” “commence the necessary suit,” “to forestall unnecessary waste of time, money and effort.” More neighbours gathered around, wanting to read the letter, or look at it. They shared their interpretation of what specific words and sentences meant, and they speculated on who was behind the effort to evict them from the land.

On the sixteenth day after the residents received the letter, the day Hansel T. Anito threatened he would “commence the necessary suit,” the residents on lot 1375 spent the day around their houses. Some women swept the ground. A young girl washed clothes. Two men repaired their fishing net. Others sat in small groups talking quietly. At one level, it all seemed like an ordinary day. But that is what they wanted it to be. Although they did not believe it was likely that they would be forced to leave their houses on this day, they feared the worst and made an effort to stay at home instead of going out on fishing trips or to the market. Other coastal residents have had to move elsewhere and their houses have been demolished. A young man coped by cracking a few jokes, but there were no big laughs. The day passed by and nothing happened. The next day, nothing happened. Slowly, they started to think that the people who were behind the eviction letter were not going to follow up on their threat. Months passed by.

Then, on March 17, 2006, an assistant from the Municipal Trial Court of Sibulan came to Maria’s house to give her a “summons” ordering the residents on lot 1375,
the "defendants," to answer within ten days the complaints made by the "plaintiffs" in what was now Civil Case 544-06, an "ejectment case." Maria and her sister did not know what this entailed or what to do. They only knew that their anxiety \textit{(kabalaka)} was back, in full force. Maria yelled at the court assistant, cried to him, tried to get him to agree that this was wrong. At the same time, Maria understood that the court assistant was just a messenger, a mailman. Had it been a higher status person, this emotional outburst may not have happened. Maria, in the end, kept a copy of the summons and the list of complaints the assistant came to give her, but refused to sign any papers. Maria understood that they were given ten days to respond to the plaintiffs' list of complaints to the Municipal Trial Court of Sibulan.

After the court assistant left, Maria, still in distress, wondered if they all had to go to court and be interviewed. The idea of being interrogated by a judge terrified her. She worried she would not understand the judge, of saying something wrong, of not knowing what would be the best thing to say. She asked herself, "why is this happening to us?"

The rapid increase in demand for 'beachfront properties' has lead to heated conflict over who has the right to live on, use, trade and do what with coastal lands and caused widespread insecurity of land tenure among large segments of the coastal population. A process of displacement, referred to as 'relocation' by the local government, is underway. In the coastal \textit{puroks} (neighbourhoods) of 	extit{barangay} Amio and Minaba, I estimate that almost 90 per cent of the people who reside along the beach are currently subject to 'ejectment,' a legal remedy to recover possession of and title to land.

In this chapter I document how low-income coastal dwellers threatened with eviction experience, understand, react to and organise to defend themselves against the actions of those who seek to evict them. I also give an account of the government's response to these conflicts. The splitting up of land for sale to outsiders moving in for recreation, tourism business and ocean-view residence has led to disputes where kin allegiances, patron-client relationships and political alliances are breaking up, reinforced and transformed. Some residents want to sell while others object. Some groups may accept the offer of 'relocation' while others refuse. Many are increasingly defined as 'squatters' in a property law discourse that seeks to re-define the requirements for being a legitimate resident of the territorial community mandated by the government.
In a context of rapid increase in the commodity value of beachfront properties, intensification of state regulatory practices and formalisation of tenure in the coastal zone, I am curious to find out to what extent coastal dwellers who are faced with eviction band together across kin, clan and class lines to defend themselves. Examples of three different court cases over coastal land are examined: 1) family feud; 2) ‘fisher folks’ in an alliance with a rich beach house owner who defend themselves against an absentee title holder; and 3) children of a former sugar baron versus former sugarcane workers. The three cases, and the ‘non-case’ of Talak, bring out the relevance of localism and cosmopolitanism for understanding contemporary resource claims. The contending views and conflicting ideas of what constitutes or gives one the right to live along the shoreline that comes to expression in the case study material – among early settlers and newcomers, localists and cosmopolitans, rich and poor – demonstrates dynamics, power relations and contours of an ongoing process of place-based community formation which does not map neatly onto either the fragmentation or the proletarianisation model.

Jose E. Bersales, based on two case studies, one from Mactan Island outside Cebu and one from Panglao Island, Bohol, sees rural subsistence communities and the strong web of kinship to be under much greater fragmentation pressure today than ever before, ripped apart by coastal tourism developments and social differentiation (2003). Resil B. Mojares, as mentioned in Chapter One, assumes fragmentation of place, livelihood and social relations in his analysis of the history of a peasant community on the southeastern coast of Cebu Island. As the ‘local’ is increasingly subordinated to the wider system and integrated into expanding Cebu City, peasants are prevented from forming “locally-based moral, political and economic institutions of any real vigour” (Mojares 2000: 71). James C. Scott (1985) takes this argument one step further and finds a new social formation: the landless rural proletariat who have to sell their labour in the market. There is some merit to these perspectives, but also some shortcomings. Despite being divisive and triggering family feuds among some long-term settled groups and some
previous *lumad* brokers are lost to cosmopolitan ways, I argue that a more thorough examination of different categories of ‘locals,’ one which accounts for social differentiation and the status of long-term settled families versus newcomers, allow for a different conceptualisation.

The history of land tenure and use, together with the analysis of house groups and kin-based house clusters, *lumad/langyaw* social distinction and social differentiation bring a more nuanced understanding of the cleavages and cooperation among different categories of coastal dwellers in conflicts over land. The legal cases not only show that there is much ambiguity and confusion at the level of law and a multiplicity of overlapping and contradictory claims to the coastal zone, but also that coastal dwellers in Sibulan have not been equally vulnerable to new developments. Among those who are labelled ‘squatters’ or ‘informal dwellers’ by a dominant discourse of land tenure, long-term settled groups with more of a *lumad* status have so far been able to remain in possession of portions of the beach, claiming customary rights to land.

**Katungod and property law in landownership claims**

Beneath the formalised tenure products of the state, there are slightly different understandings of what gives one entitlement to live on, use and own land. Some claim to live on the land of their ancestors (*lumads*). They see themselves to be legitimate heirs and owners of the land. Many ‘informal’ coastal dwellers say they live on government land and/or that the land along the shoreline has erroneously been classified as alienable and disposable by the Bureau of Lands. Many appeal to a right to residence and livelihood. One woman said when faced with a ‘demand letter’ for eviction: “*Naa mi katungod mopunjo sa yuta*” (“it is our right to stay on the land”175). That right, this woman argued, is based on both her family’s long-term residence on the land and in a

175 *Yuta* also means soil and homeland and is here an expression of a strong, intimate association with place.
right to livelihood. I refer to this as the ‘katungod’-model, a ‘customary rights’-view of who can own, inherit, use and sell various resources.176

Introduced in the previous chapter, the owner of an overseas recruitment agency and a beachfront property investor from Manila, Jennifer, is of a different opinion. According to her, all the families living along the coast without formal title are squatters. Jennifer said: “I won in the RTC [Regional Trial Court]. They [the ‘squatters’] had no right to stay on the land.” The wife of a fisherman’s response to this statement, echoing the sentiments of poorer segments of the coastal population struggling to avoid ‘ejectment,’ was: “They have money – they get what they want.” Jennifer is of the opinion that property law is what gives one the right to be a legitimate resident of the place. The katungod-model is in her opinion irrelevant in deciding who has what rights to land and the foreshore.

The property law model and the katungod model are not representations of two entirely different worldviews, however. The models overlap in view of certain aspects of what constitutes a right to own and possess land. The proven length of attachment to place has been included in Philippine law on ‘ejectment’ and can form the basis for issuing or transferring ownership. Given the current focus on ‘development’ through expansion of coastal tourism, the willingness of various state institutions to recognise claims based on long-term possession and use may look to be limited. Being on the government’s “top ten agenda of revenue generation” (Divinagracia and Dipaling 2005), foreshore lease is a property form developed not to help fisher folk improve tenure security, but to encourage investments in the coastal zone by people with money. It is too expensive for most people to have land titled or leased (survey, lawyer, government fees). In most of

176 Kerkvliet, too, found that poor villagers tend to emphasise “their right to livelihood versus the landowners’ private property claims” (1990: 270), but does not distinguish between lumad and non-lumad claimants.

Katungod, although depending on context, is also a term for ‘responsibility’ or ‘obligation,’ for example, the responsibility I have to take care of my own children (akong katungod, my responsibility). As a verb, katungod means ‘entitle.’
the court cases over land in coastal Sibulan, those subject to eviction tend to claim to live on 'government land' since, by law, foreshore lands should not have been titled in the first place. In their eyes, however, the legal process is seen to be part of the tactics and tools of people with power to 'get what they want.' At the same time, there are also contending views over what gives one the right to own, control and use land along the shoreline among the class of rich beach house owners. Rich and well-connected personalities use 'customary claims' to land when opportune and poorer families use national law to point out the illegality of actions taken by property investors or local government officials.

In the Philippines, an 'informal' market of land transactions – a market that does not have the official approval of the state – based on possession, kin ties and historical claims – has for more than a hundred years co-existed with and been used in relation to a system of formal land titles. One way of making claims to land is to use it, be in continuous possession of it and mix one's labour with it by building houses and sheds and living on the land, or by planting coconut trees and cultivating crops. To have one's name listed on the Original or Transfer Title of Deeds issued by the state is ownership in the formal, narrow sense (Eder 1991: 163). Private title has been out of reach for the majority of coastal dwellers on Negros Island. In Sibulan, many have at some stage registered their house lot with the municipal assessor's office and paid land tax. Tax receipts are sometimes used as a legal basis for land claims, as proof of long-term possession 'in the concept of an owner.' Some have obtained a building permit and some not. In some areas and for some settler groups, formalisation of claims beyond tax receipts and a building permit have so far not been necessary. Some claim rights to continued possession and ownership based on being legitimate heirs either of title holders or, more commonly, long-term possessors of the land. Some rent land, a house or an attached room. Others stay with the permission of kin or friends, often with the combined approval of a lumad broker household, a barangay councillor or the barangay captain at the time of settlement. When land is sold in the area, the transaction may be either filed with the Register of Deeds of Negros Oriental province, or it may be
notarized without formal registration; or the buyer and seller may simply sign an agreement recording a transfer of the land.

**Lot nr. 1375 – A family feud**

The opening vignette of this chapter ended with Maria asking: “Why is this happening to us?” To answer this question, apart from the contextual information already given, I will in this section discuss some of the details of the court case and describe the relationship between the people involved. The case study material shows how kinship, class and place relations figure in conflicts over land, how the various parties struggle and strategise to win the court case, and their differing outlook on who really owns this portion of the beach and what this entitles them to do with the land.

Maria’s mother, Rosita Parena Agudo, settled onto the disputed lot in 1977. Rosita had lived close to the beach in the neighbouring barangay of Minaba since 1943, but her family had been forced out because her husband, Fredis Agudo, was, according to one informant, “a troublemaker, always getting into fights with neighbours.” The Agudo family had migrated to Sibulan from Mindanao. A petition was signed to have Fredis and his family evicted from Minaba. Rosita then asked her mother’s brother’s son, Anton Parena, for permission to relocate to the lot in Amio. This lot had been issued Original Certificate of Title in 1937, in the name of four Dalope siblings. Anton was first married Zarina, the oldest daughter of one of the original title holders and had four children with her (see next page, figure 7.1). When Zarina died in child birth, Anton married Zarina’s younger sister, Myrna. Myrna was 86 years of age and was the oldest legitimate heir to the land in 2006. Myrna and Anton had already owned in the 1950s a house on the lot, but when Anton died, Myrna settled a few hundred meters inland from the beach, in the house of her youngest daughter. When they were forced to leave their home in Minaba, Rosita’s family was given permission to stay on the lot in Amio, but the title was not passed on to her. She is not a legitimate heir. In 1983, Nolito Parena and his wife, Leticia, also settled on the 50 meter by 30 meter large lot.
Two days after the residents on lot nr. 1375 received the court summons and were given ten days to reply, Maria contacted the lawyer of OYCONDEV to get help with the court case. OYCONDEV is a construction company that builds, among other things, seawalls and beach houses. The company has bought several lots in the area. The lot just north of lot 1375 is one of them. OYCONDEV bought the 'rights' to this land from a family with original settler status in 1995. Maria was the caretaker of the lot, picking up garbage washed onto the beach-lot and maintaining the grass and bushes so it would look nice for potential buyers. Her job was also to make sure no one would settle on the lot. She earned 1000 pesos per month for the job.
The house group leader discussed in Chapter Four, Rose Parena Polido, took charge of the civil case on behalf of the Parena households who lived on the disputed lot. Rose contacted the Public Attorney’s Office (PAO) in Dumaguete City to tease out their opinion on the case. At the same time she went along to the OYCONDEV lawyer with Maria. Rose wanted to give him her version of the case.

In late March 2006, the defence attorney asked the residents on lot 1375 to make ‘family trees’ (genealogy charts), linking them to the Dalope siblings listed as owners on the title document. The family history tree was fragmentarily remembered by Rose. Many family members she knew only by nickname (*angga*), but she managed to link herself to the Dalope sisters with the help of older relatives living in the area. Maria could not link herself to the Dalope sisters as legitimate heir, not being in direct line of descent. This episode illustrates that it has become important to trace kinship links to ancestors in recent times to claim rights to the beach.

The plaintiffs, it became known to the defendants when they received the court summons, were some of the heirs of Angel Dalope et al. represented by Cresencia Elentorio, Myrna Parena and Buena Tuazon. A rumour suggested that Cresencia Elentorio’s daughter, Lorna, and her Japanese husband wanted to build a beach house on lot 1375. Olivia Parena and Ariana Calumpong Parena had also joined the plaintiffs, although this was meant to be part of a ‘hidden transcript’. Olivia and Ariana were the wives of Rose’s father’s father’s sons. They were not the main sponsors and organisers of the legal case, but had been approached by Cresencia. The residents on lot 1375 were not able to find out who petitioner Buena Tuazon is and how she is linked to the Dalope siblings.

As described in Chapter Five, both Olivia and Ariana have been able to send their children to college. Olivia ran a relatively successful sari-sari and ‘cottage’ rental business. As a former fish buyer and tenant farmer, Ariana and her husband, Danilo,
were the heads of a key *lumad* broker household in the past. While Ariana was still involved in some money lending affairs with her poorer neighbours, her children had developed stronger cosmopolitan orientations and separated themselves from poorer kin and neighbours. The families who lived on lot 1375 had much lower income and educational achievements, relying on small-scale fishing and casual work to secure their livelihoods. As analysed in Chapter Five, the class and status differences that are widening between these two groups have arguably contributed to the richer branch of the family ignoring kin relations to the group they seek to evict.

The attorney asked the defendants to make copies of various documents to be used as evidence of “open, continuous and peaceful possession” of the property for more than thirty years, “in the concept of owners and/or claimants” (Ruperto 2005). Maria made copies of a building permit, ‘Declaration of Real Property’ and a Foreshore Lease Application her mother had filled out in 1993. Rose and the other heads of households made copies of similar documents. All the ‘defendants’ then went to Dumaguete City to meet with the attorney and sign some papers. I went with them and was asked by Rose to read through the “Answer with counterclaim”-document their attorney had drafted.

In the document, the attorney argues that the plaintiffs have never been in possession of lot 1375 and are therefore “not in the position to ‘take back’ what they have not possessed in the first place. A more accurate statement would be that the plaintiffs want to wrest and/or grab possession of the said property” (ibid.). He furthermore points out

177 Their signatures appear on the “Deed of extrajudicial settlement.”

178 While many households have filled in applications to have their land-ownership claims formalised and have copies of such applications, the cost and other requirements of obtaining private title or foreshore lease is beyond what the vast majority of coastal dwellers can afford. Foreshore lease is an instrument designed for the well-off and rich who seek exclusive ownership, increased control and state-guaranteed security for their beachfront property investments. Foreshore lease gives the lessee similar guarantees as private title in terms of control over the land, but the lease expires after fifty years (25-years renewable for no more than 25 years. See Appendix D: Foreshore Lease and the new land use plan, for more details on the classification of the shoreline and the process of foreshore lease agreement).
that the plaintiffs failed to mention that several of the defendants are the children of plaintiff Myrna Parena. The attorney goes on to argue that the area covered by the title has previously been covered by seawater, “but for reasons of accretion caused by the action of the sea, the dry area [of the beach] has expanded. Such areas belong to the public domain and are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR).” The defence attorney questions the plaintiffs underlying motives and shows that there are several legal avenues open to the defendants. This is meant to discourage the plaintiffs from pursuing the case further.

Plaintiff Myrna Parena is the grandmother of four of the defendants. She was at this time 86 years old and suffered from senility. Being the oldest ‘legitimate heir’ alive, she was a key person in terms of legal authority to decide on the use of the property. When Rose, one of Myrna’s granddaughters, understood what was going on, she said: “They are crazy.” Rose felt there was no other way of describing what had happened. She was convinced that Crescencia had approached Myrna and had her ‘sign’ the list of complaints without knowing what was going on. Myrna did not know how to read and write. Her signature was a thumb-stamp. The defendants talked of this as being an act equal to stealing. The petitioners had stolen Myrna’s thumb-stamp. Rose was both surprised and very disappointed when she found out that also Olivia and Ariana had signed the papers to have her family evicted.

Attorney Hansel T. Anito, Council for Plaintiffs, had his own interest in pursuing the case. He had negotiated for himself “25 per cent of the land, when possession is recovered, on a contingent basis, as attorney’s fees” (Anito 2005). With a market value of perhaps 5000 pesos per square meter and the lot being close to 1500 m2, this translates to a potential attorney’s fees of about 1,900,000 pesos (or about AUS 45,000 dollars at the time).

What happened over the next few months was a bit of a farce. The defendants showed up to scheduled meetings with the Municipal Trial Court three times. Each time the
defendants arrived at the courthouse, they found out that the session had been cancelled. They spent several hours each time, having to put on appropriate clothing and travel in tricycles to the courthouse located in Sibulan town. Rose and Maria both had their own mobile phones, yet their attorney did not call or text them to inform them about the cancellation. Defendants, on the other hand, were reluctant to text or call the attorney, not wanting to disturb him, thinking perhaps that he was busy with more important things. The mobile phone, at least in this case, was not used to overcome previous social boundaries.

The socio-cultural differences between those subject to eviction and the attorney defending them limit the kind of communication taking place. Referring to the meeting between the defendants and the plaintiffs that eventually took place at the Municipal Trial Court, Rose said, “The judge did not ask us, only the lawyers were talking, and writing their position papers.” The language used was difficult to understand for anyone not trained in the profession of law. Maria and Rose found it at times challenging to deal with government offices or have meetings with lawyers. It was easy for them to feel inferior in these contexts, struggling to understand why the legal procedures and formal regulations and requirements are necessary and what was being said. While being grateful for the help of the attorney, they still found it difficult to trust a person they really did not know and to negotiate in this unfamiliar legal territory.

In the process of defending themselves against the civil case for ‘ejectment’, there were two somewhat different – at one level contradictory – arguments pursued by the Agudo and Parena families. Since the Parena families living on the disputed beach lot are direct descendants of the title holders, they wanted to pursue an argument saying that not only have they lived on the land for a long time, but also that they are legitimate heirs of one of the original title owners. The Agudo families, who are not linked to the titleholders as legitimate heirs, wanted in their defence to pursue the argument that they live on public land, with the implied understanding that they have a right to continue to live there and,
as a consequence of long and continuous possession, are entitled to decide on the use of the land.

Maria and her brother Cardo were of the opinion that they have the right to sell portions of the land they live on to others. This was one of the complaints raised by the plaintiffs, that the people who have been ‘tolerated’ to live on the land were now illegally selling it to a third party. When Rose confronted Maria and Cardo with the accusations made by the plaintiffs, they admitted they had made a written contract with a buyer of the space in front of Maria’s house. When Rose told me about this, she got very emotional and had to turn away, take a break, and continue the conversation with me later. She did not agree with what Maria and Cardo had done. Rose also worried that their action had strengthened the plaintiffs’ case. However, her own mother, also against Rose’s will and knowledge at the time, sold the right of one portion of the lot to another family, not related by kin, in 1995, to pay debts and be able to finish the building of a brick house. Rose understood that the driving motive was to get hold of much needed money, and could at one level sympathise with these actions, at least as long as none of those who lived on the land were displaced. But she preferred to save space on the lot for the children of family members who lived on the lot.

\[179\] In Chapter Four, I mentioned that Leticia’s husband, Nolito, died in an accident only 37 years of age. This then prevented Leticia from sending children to school and loss of lumad status.
The red line indicates an imaginary fence between the Parena and Agudo families. The lot is approximately 1500 sq.m. in size.

Figure 7.2: Lot 1375

In the map, drawn in 2006, small squares and rectangular shapes are houses (balay) and small triangles are resting sheds (payag-payag). The parallel lines without dots in them are brick walls and those with dots facing the sea are seawalls. On the right-hand side or north of Maria's house is the lot owned by OYCONDEV. The houses are not drawn to scale, but the lot parameters are reasonably accurate (30 x 50 metres).

This is a legal case where two house groups sharing one lot could easily be seen to be pitted against each other. Rose and the other descendants of Anton Parena living on the disputed lot could, in one scenario, have joined the team of the plaintiffs to have the Agudo family evicted by having the Torrens title confirmed in court as valid. Furthermore, the Agudo family name did not carry lumad status which, under some circumstances, can be used to legitimate their eviction. As mentioned above, the Agudo family’s claim to the land was based on a relatively weak kinship link (ig-agaw igtaksa or first cousin), long-term possession, and that they live on public land and have a right to livelihood. Despite disagreements over who had a right to sell the land they lived on, they were able to cooperate in defending themselves. Was this cooperative capability a reflection of them adhering to similar norms of reciprocity and not subscribing to the...
dominant ideology of individual rights and private property? The *katungod*-model is useful here, to understand who are seen to have a right to live on the land. Long-term residence, kinship relations, a right to livelihood and a home are all relevant to understand the way the residents on lot 1375 organise to defend themselves.

Rose and her siblings had all grown up on the disputed parcel of beach. Except for one son who worked for an uncle who was a scrap dealer in Manila, they all had their main source of livelihood in the place. Rose said that she was not interested in selling the land, but “just want to live peacefully here.” Most of the Agudo families who lived on the same lot relied on small-scale fishing to sustain themselves, had never lived for longer periods of time in other places and were keen to maintain reasonable tenure security and benefit from what they saw as ownership rights based on long-term and continuous possession. There are several examples of coastal dwellers in Amio who had sold a small portion of their own house lot, but had no intention of selling out all of the land. The *payag-payags* of the Agudo family were rented out to visitors to the beach and provided some additional income. Apart from having lived on the lot for more than thirty years, the livelihood opportunities on the house lot provided one more reason for why they were willing to fight for the land. This was where they had a few coconut trees, docked boats and stored fishing gear, had their houses and homes, and had established their localised relationships. Their house lot and the relationships they maintained there allowed for some sense of control over everyday events. Many house group members invest not only in housing, but grow emotionally attached to the place and the relationships they have with significant others in the neighbourhood. In important ways, they identify with place as community. As things were during fieldwork, the members of the Agudo family members maintained a smaller social network in the neighbourhood than the Parena house group members.

180 Apart from status, to build a brick house is also an expression of their intention to stay in the place and make a stronger claim to land.
While the *katungod*-model is a useful distinction to property law, it is also important to acknowledge that there was an ongoing negotiation between the families living on the lot over who had what rights to specific portions of the land, and there was contestation over the question of rights to sell pieces of the land to outsiders. The residents on lot 1375 were also not in agreement over what to do if they were given a lucrative resettlement deal. Ryan, the husband of Rose, moved from Talak to his wife’s place when he got married in 1999. He said he would be willing to move if the plaintiffs came up with a generous offer. He wanted to live next to his parents and siblings, in the neighbourhood he identifies with as home two kilometres further north along the coast, in barangay Talak. The main reason why Ryan moved to his wife’s place was scarcity of land on the lot of his parents and his wife’s strong-felt need to live with and help her own family. With a significant sum of money, however, Ryan speculated, he would be able to buy a small lot next to his family in Talak. Two heads of households in the Agudo group also said they were willing to move if they were given what they perceived as an adequate compensation.

The case filed against the residents on lot 1375 was dismissed on January 19, 2007, by the Municipal Trial Court of Sibulan. The plaintiffs said they would appeal the decision to the Regional Trial Court of Dumaguete City, but as of 2008, this had not happened.\(^{181}\)

On my last visit to Amio, in June 2008, there were signs of a clearer separation between the Parena and Agudo families living on lot 1375. A fence-like structure in the form of a resting shed had been put up by the husband of Rose. Rose expressed disappointment to some of her Agudo neighbours for continuing to try to sell portions of the beach lot they

\(^{181}\) The barangay captain of Amio from 1989 to 2007, Partosa, came to the defence of the people living on the lot. In a written statement to the MTC, he says he “personally know all the defendants” and that they have lived in Amio for a long time. He also claimed to know that lot 1375 is now largely under water. On May 21, 2007, the residents on lot 1375 received another ejectment letter, this time from descendants of Villegas, one of the old elite sugar planter families in the province. Some of the heir of Villegas and their attorney claimed to have title to the road along the shoreline and think this gives them legal rights to the beach by obtaining foreshore lease. Jennifer, the beachfront property investor from Manila, was their local partner.
lived on. Three of the Agudo households said they would agree to relocate if compensated. They had informed the former barangay captain of Amio that if they were given 50,000 pesos, they would agree to move. In a perhaps surprising move, Rose was no longer enemy with Ariana. She had forgiven Ariana for signing the document to have Rose’s family evicted. The explanation she provided was: “You know, she was the sponsor of Ryan’s and my wedding.” This statement was vague enough and I sensed that Rose was not too keen to go into the exact reasons for what had happened. Rose now spoke of some of the Agudo house group members as being “dili maayong silingan” or ‘no good neighbours.’ There had been several instances of quarrelling between members of the two groups, men when they were drunk. While there were many other factors which also came into play, as the land dispute progressed, this example does resemble a broader pattern where families with solid lumad status – in particular brokers within these families – forge a clearer separation from cousins and non-relatives to the advantage of closer kin. In the next chapter, I will show that when it comes to marine regulations, this pattern can also be observed.

This example shows how absentee family members who are settled elsewhere assert their right to land to benefit from sales to resort investors, real estate brokers and beach house owners. They look to be encouraged by lawyers who want a share. Some members of the family may want to intervene to prevent people who live on the lot from selling it to outsiders. Initially, all the residents on this lot were able to unite to defend themselves. To deal with the court case, they sought the help of the attorney of the absentee-owner of the neighbouring lot. When some of the Agudo members continued to try to sell portions of the lot to outsiders, conflict along kinship lines broke out, splitting the group in two. Instead of interpreting this as an example of ‘kin fragmentation,’ I find it more interesting to see how kinship is used to regulate shoreline areas and what factors work to prevent and encourage the formation of strong, cohesive kin-based groups in the current context of displacement pressure and stronger application of legal principles and property law to the coastline. Apart from a degree of opportunism and ‘a right to survive,’ the example shows that being a full member of a
lumad family, long-term possession and property law were relevant for how the parties understood who had what rights to the lot.

In the next section, I present a court case where a rich newcomer and poorer long-term settled neighbours are brought together to defend themselves against an absentee titleholder.

**Alliance between richer newcomers and poorer settlers in land dispute**

Many of the people subject to 'ejectment' in this case used to be fishermen and farm labourers and have lived on the disputed parcel of land for approximately 30 years. They moved onto the beach from their settlement a bit further away from the beach when farming jobs became less attractive compared to fishing and the land they lived on was subdivided and sold by the title holder (see Chapter Two). Some members of the families who first settled onto the beach had sold their 'rights' to portions of the beach to rich newcomers. The rich newcomers had established beach houses or rest houses next to or interspersed between long-term settled or lumad families. The group of richer newcomers consisted of a judge, an architect, a medical doctor, a college professor and a parish priest. There were also a few middle-income families who rented houses from some of the lumad families.

The Chan family bought 1.7 hectares of land from an old elite hacendero family along the coast of barangay Amio in 1967, but never used it. It was the children of the deceased titleholders who claimed the land. They were of the opinion that the land was private property, covered by the Torrens Certificate of Title. They lived in Dumaguete. Their parents also used to live in Dumaguete and were one of the main dried fish dealers in the City. The Chan family also owned seven hectares of rice land in Talak which was leased out.
The plaintiffs claimed that the defendants, those who lived on or had vacation houses on the disputed portion of the beach, have known all along that the land they live on is the titled property of the Chan family. Some meetings were held in the mid-1990s to seek a resolution to the conflict. At the last mediation meeting, in May 1996, the Provincial Environment and Natural Resources Officer (PENRO) told the defendants to vacate the land or make arrangements with the plaintiffs for their continued stay on the land (i.e. buy the land or pay rent for the land). The complaints of the plaintiffs were dismissed in the Municipal Trial Court (MTC) of Sibulan in May 2001. The judge concluded that the land of the Chan family in Amio had eroded and was now under the sea or part of the foreshore. The Community Environment and Natural Resources Office (CENRO) in Dumaguete City conducted a foreshore inventory study in January 2003 and found that the titled property also covered the remaining dry portion of the beach. Later the same year, the Regional Trial Court (RTC) in Dumaguete City reversed the decision of the MTC. The RTC judge said the plaintiffs have the right to recover possession of the remaining dry portion of the property. Since the state has not reclaimed and reclassified the land as part of the public domain, it remains private property. The Court of Appeals upheld the decision of the RTC in April 2007. It is a common opinion among ‘outsiders’ who have bought titled land and use the courts to force people off the land that the MTC will often take the side of the local residents. This is not always the case. In cases where well-connected lumad families are threatened with eviction, the MTC is more often sympathetic to the argument of the ‘defendants.’ In this court case, several of the families subject to eviction were long-term settled families, including key members of the Parena/Oloriz ‘clan.’

A common problem faced by many residents in Amio and Minaba relates to the history of land titling (see Chapter Two), in particular that the land all the way down to the sea was issued Torrens title to a provincial elite family during the period when the cadastral survey was conducted between 1918 and 1920. This family never lived on the land. The land was bought by another provincial elite and non-resident family in the 1950s and was then sold to other absentee investors when a subdivision plan was approved in
1967. The idea of securing the beach as part of the public domain was not an issue the local government units were discussing at this time. As the coastline has changed over the decades due to erosion and accretion, and the beach has become revaluated to be attractive for residential and recreational purposes, the current situation is ripe for disputes. Only in recent years has the issue of the foreshore and the adjacent dry land areas been forced upon the municipality.

Figure 7.3: Land claimed by absentee titleholder in Amio

The land claimed by Chan is the remaining dry shore area of the beach

The alliance between richer newcomers and poorer settlers with lumad status in this court case can be seen as mutually beneficial. Richer newcomers shouldered the expenses of the poorer dwellers, while the latter group’s long-term residence had given the rich the opportunity to buy relatively cheap occupancy rights. When people sell their ‘rights’ or ‘waive their rights’ to a portion of land, this is a legally binding contract, but only as far as those rights are valid or do not compromise the legal rights of others, someone with a better right of possession. Furthermore, the fact that many of the original settlers on the beach relied on fishing and gleaning to make a living was an argument used to justify their continued right to live there. According to one wealthy beach house owner who bought a lot from a long-term settled family in 1995, the architect of Spanish descent, Alvero, the salvage area “is intended for the marginal fishermen.” Through his attorney, Alvero had appealed the decision of the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court. He was of the opinion that this is a special case where the titled lot was eaten by the sea and the remaining portion of the dry beach is
automatically part of the public domain and cannot be privately owned, only leased. He had obtained aerial photos of where the coastline was in the past, what land had eroded and where accretion had occurred. When the airport was extended into the sea, this affected patterns of erosion. While being keen to fight the case in the court system, partly because he had built two beach houses on the lot and used them for family reunion and private residence, this beach house owner was also saying that for him personally, there was no catastrophe to lose the civil case: “I can just move somewhere else.” He related to place not as community, as the ‘localists,’ but as a cosmopolitan (see Chapter Six).

This case shows that new vertical links have taken shape, constructed around a new beach recreational and real estate economy, partly because of the contested nature of land tenure. The mutual interest in securing tenure has brought neighbours of unequal social status together as one party in a land court case. It is families with lumad status – the lumad brokers – who have been able to forge the better vertical links, being able to claim the land as theirs and sell portions of it to rich newcomers.

There are also broader values of rights to livelihood and an obligation of the rich to care for the poor that comes to expression in this case. The discourse of ‘fisher folk’ as poor and vulnerable is widespread and political candidates have to be careful not to portray themselves as unconcerned with their situation.

The landed elite versus former ‘servants’
Compared to the previous case, the defendants in the civil case for ‘ejectment’ in Minaba all belonged to low-income households, had not been able to obtain wider recognition as ‘people from here’ and had largely been prevented from selling land along the beach to rich newcomers.

Bruno Lopez, a Spanish hacendero, used to be one of the large landowners in the province, with plantations in Bais and in the mountains of Bayawan. Bruno died in the
early 1980s. Bruno Lopez bought land in Minaba from another elite hacendero in 1967. It was some of the children of Bruno Lopez who claimed the lot in Minaba, about 5.5 hectares of the land along the coastline. They had pushed the municipal government to find land for resettlement (the “government-assisted relocation project”) of the families to be evicted.

The families who were faced with pressures to “vacate” the land Lopez claimed in Minaba can be categorised into two groups. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the first group consisted initially of a few families who worked on the sugar plantation of Villegas in Tanjay. In 1956, they were brought to work on the land Villegas had bought in Minaba and also to be caretakers of a newly established fishpond. Through natural growth and further in-migration, the families linked to these settlers consisted of sixty-seven households in 2007. The second group of families were also former sugarcane workers in the fields of Joaquin Villegas in Tanjay. When the sugarcane industry collapsed in the late seventies and early eighties, they asked permission from members of the first group to settle in the same area, primarily looking for jobs closer to the provincial capital. There were no close kinship relations – in a narrowly defined formal-structural sense – between the two groups, but they had much in common (originally from Cebu, fellow casual workers in the fields, and with similar educational and income levels, as well as similar patterns of marine resource use). This group consisted of thirty-seven households in May 2007. This second group were more attracted to “the government assisted relocation project,” but said they would first do what they could to win the court case. It was the barangay captain and a former municipal government official who was also an attorney who had been able to convince them to support the government program.

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182 Some of these families came originally from the neighbouring island of Cebu and migrated to Negros to work on sugar plantations just after the Second World War.
This sign had been put up by the municipal government of Sibulan, on request from the Lopez family's lawyer.

Figure 7.4: The government assisted relocation project

The government's relocation project aims to remove two settler groups in the smaller area, about 100 households.

Figure 7.5: Land claimed by absentee titleholder in Minaba

Sensing perhaps that I was showing some sympathy for the families threatened with eviction, the attorney of the group of defendants more positive to the idea of relocation once said to me: “This is really more of a social than a legal problem.” He said that it would be better if the government bought the land claimed by Lopez at a below market rate and then divided it for the residents living there. Having plans in 2006 to run for the
position of mayor in 2007, he had discussed this idea with the governor at the time, George Arnais, “but you know how politicians are: they will applaud your plan and then nothing happens.” The majority of the residents on the disputed land, however, were sceptical of the barangay captain’s and other government officials’ motive and had organised their own legal and extra-legal defence. The barangay captain of Minaba had courted both settler groups for their votes. By giving permission to ‘poor newcomers’ to stay on the land of an absentee landowner, it is possible to get their support in claiming it as part of the ‘barangay’ or ‘neighbourhood’ domain. He had in collaboration with the former municipal assessor sold and/or facilitated the sale of several lots along the coast of Minaba. The captain and the former assessor had also built their own houses with seawalls in this area. The former sugarcane labourers who settled in Minaba had, with only one exception, been prevented from claiming the foreshore as their own and from finalising transactions with potential buyers, and were faced with intimidation and threats of various kinds.

The larger group was not willing to relocate partly because they doubted the ability or willingness of the government to give them titled land. The representatives I spoke with in the smaller group said they believed the barangay captain, through his connections, would help them get titled land if they were to lose the civil case for ‘ejectment.’ They had already been informed that they would, in the case of relocation, receive a sum of cash from Lopez to help them pay for the expenses of relocation.

One of the members of the smaller group had also been put up as a local stockholder of bangus fry. ‘Trawling’ the shallows for bangus fry is an important sideline economic activity for many households in Minaba. In 2006, he was able to pay higher prices to the fry gatherers in the neighbourhood than the competing and long-term stockholder of bangus fry in this area, a member of the larger group. Although some fry gatherers continued to sell to the stockholder who paid a lower price out of kin obligations and pressures, his business as a stockholder declined. The new stockholder had received help from the ‘pro-relocation’ people to broker the contract. At the same time, some of
the leaders in the larger group were aware that the splitting up of the group had made them weaker, more vulnerable, so they tried to recruit members of the 'breakaway' group.

Another factor which may explain the difference in willingness to relocate relates to the larger group being the direct descendants of the first people to settle in this particular area. The smaller group had weaker historical and kinship claims. Some of the first households to settle on this stretch of the shoreline continued to make claims to portions of the beachfront on the other side of the road from their houses. They did not just want to give up this potentially very lucrative property to the Lopez or to the barangay captain and his men. What this example illustrates, however, is that the early settler/newcomer distinction is fuelled by external brokers and financed by absentee titleholders to weaken group cooperation in land disputes.

The situation in Minaba was extremely tense during fieldwork. Local political leaders were walking on a tight rope in the run-up to the May 2007 election. The barangay captain gave mixed signals on where he stood. One time he said: “The old Lopez is dead already. His son is a land-grabber.” Another time, he said to me, referring to the people living on the land claimed by Lopez: “They are not from here, they are strangers here. They were the servants of Villegas [a Spanish hacendero from Tanjay].” The barangay captain played a double role, trying to avoid violent conflict and also earn the votes of the electorate while at the same time pursuing his own interests in relation to the beachfront. He tried to convince the residents in coastal Minaba that he was on ‘their side.’ He said, referring to the group that supported him: “We will do our best to win the [civil] case, but if we lose, we have to follow the decision of the court. We are law-abiding citizens.” The people opposing the idea of ‘relocation,’ the barangay captain said, “think they can define their own laws.”

One man in the group refusing to sign up to the “government-assisted relocation project” was connected to the Rebolusyonaryong Partido ng Manggagawa – Pilipinas /
Armed RPA-soldiers showed up on April 1, 2006, called in by the local representative when two land surveyors rigged up their equipment. The surveyors were prevented from measuring the exact location of the land Lopez claimed. Two days later, the surveyors came back with armed backup from the Provincial Police and the Philippine Army. The local representative of the RPA, the barangay captain said, “understands only the language of force.”

A rumour circulated that the barangay captain and some other politicians had struck a deal with the Lopez family. Lopez, the rumour went on to say, had been offered a selling price of 144 million pesos for the disputed lot by the owner of the golf course in Mainit, Sibulan, Mr. Bravo. Mr. Bravo was in a partnership with the richest senator and former senate president of the Philippines, Manuel or “Manny” Villar. The rumour therefore concluded that the intention of this ‘alliance’ was to lure or force the residents on the disputed lot to a resettlement area, but further away from the beach, between a rice field and a nipa swamp. The locals refer to this area as ‘Little Tondo.’ Tondo is one of the well-known shantytowns in Manila. By labelling the relocation site ‘Little Tondo,’ the

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183 RPA-ABB signed a truce with the Philippine military in 2000. No longer pushing for a workers’ revolution, they are seen to be more pragmatic than the Communist Party of the Philippines and their armed wing, the New Peoples Army. According to the Center for Defence Information “the group has become increasingly decentralized, and may exist as little more than thuggish street gangs in many areas. Rumors also exist that the RPA-ABB is cooperating with the government not only in peace talks, but also as paramilitaries. The rumours were apparently serious enough that in July 2003, the governor of Negros Oriental publicly denied using the RPA-ABB as his “personal army” in combating the NPA. What is undeniable, however, is that relations between the CPP/NPA and the RPM-P/RPA-ABB have deteriorated into desultory warfare. Disgusted with the RPA-ABB’s cooperation with the government and their perceived abandonment of revolutionary ideology, the NPA launched several attacks on the RPA-ABB” (George 2004).

184 Villar, a “housing magnate,” listed as number 24 in Forbes magazine’s richest people in Asia with $110 million in net worth, heads the Nacionalista Party. His wealth comes primarily from subdivision projects and real estate. Villar, 57, played a key role in the impeachment of former president Joseph Estrada and is seen as a key contender for presidency in 2010 (Labog-Javellana and Burgonio 2007). Bravo owned a beach house in Talak. Bravo’s main house was in Dumaguete, where his wife comes from. He also owned a golf course in Sibulan with an impressive looking hotel and clubhouse. Bravo also invested in attractive real estate in Dumaguete City. One large lot in the middle of the city, the rumours suggested, was to be sold to the owner of SM Mega Mall. Bravo also owned a security agency. From time to time, Villar visited Bravo in the beach house. The security was then very strong.
residents subject to eviction are voicing their criticism through jokes and gossip, showing their mistrust in the government’s ability and intention to help the ‘poor.’ They are saying they don’t want to live in a shantytown, but also suggest this is what may be in store for them if they are evicted. In the run-up to the election in May 2007, the fifteen families that had already been ‘relocated’ to ‘Little Tondo’ from other areas of the coastline were given promises of an arrangement with mortgage and monthly payments to get titled land, a barangay road and a day-care centre by the incumbent mayor. One woman said that so far “we have been given only story.”

Another interpretation of what was going on was that some of the local government officials had first tried to beat the Lopez family in court to get control over the beachfront themselves. Similar to what Michael Pinches found to be the case in Tondo, Manila (1986), minor political figures and government officials have been active sellers of lots to unsuspicious rich newcomers who do not know the history of land tenure conflict in the area. The Minaba case seems very much like “a contrived and elaborate exercise in political manipulation, combining elements of patronage and populist ideology with heavy handed repression” (Pinches 1986: 7).

In the process of increased pressures to have them removed from the land, the residents on the disputed lot in Minaba did not receive open support and assistance from well-established families with lumad status in Sibulan. I have in earlier chapters suggested that their inability to marry into lumad families and their status as part-time, less skilful fishermen have affected their ability to ‘become locals’ and full members of lumad families. Over time, a few members of poorer lumad families in Sibulan had married into the settler groups in coastal Minaba and lived amongst them. There was also sympathy expressed from some members of lumad families in Amio and Talak: “They have lived there a long time now,” “they live on public land”; “The ‘old’ Lopez (the title holder) promised them that they could stay there. It is the children of Lopez who now claim that land”; “Where would they go?”; “I never saw Lopez live there in Minaba”;
"They have a right to stay there. Many years they stay there...They are all poor...It is
government land.” If they were to be successful at fighting off the pressures to have
them evicted, they may very well receive more explicit acknowledgement from *lumads*
in Amio and Talak as being legitimate residents of that particular location, as they were
the first to settle there. With more of them taking up fishing, this could also become a
factor. So far, however, there was no physical coming together under a banner of
community, a unified front across settler groups, kin and clan lines. Sympathies and
support from other coastal dwellers in the wider area can be crucial, but may not be
enough to prevent eviction. In 2008, the settler group lost what was said to be their last
appeal and in January 2009, a demolition order was issued.

What is now going on and intensifying in Sibulan resembles, although at a much
smaller scale, what has been going on in Manila and other cities in the Philippines for a
long time. At the rural-urban interface, land is highly sought after, for residence and
access to income earning activities, for real estate developments and speculative
purposes. Pinches found that in one of Manila's largest ‘squatter settlements,’ a diverse
group of settlers were able to come together – based on similar class and status
experience – and fight a common cause against powerful elite figures trying to get them
evicted. Pinches argues: “There is a common sense of identity with the settlement as a
whole and more generally with people living under similar circumstances elsewhere in
the city” (1986: 3). A significant factor in bringing people across the settlement together
as a community, Pinches says, “is their common experience” in land disputes (ibid.). In
Pinches study, there is a more clearly defined outsider-enemy than in the two first court
cases discussed in this chapter. The Minaba case has more of a resemblance with the
case-study of Pinches. The Minaba residents and the informal dwellers in Tondo have in
common that they all come from elsewhere. In coastal Amio and Talak, early arrivals
claim prior rights. They distinguish themselves from newcomers. To the extent that the
‘early settler/newcomer’-distinction is not important in Minaba and Tondo, it may very
well create a different process of inclusion and exclusion.
A similar ‘coming together’ of people who are subject to different court cases for ‘ejectment’ has not happened in Sibulan, perhaps because of the political status of neighbourhood *liders* and *lumad* brokers and their role in maintaining a distinction between themselves and *langyaw*, people who are *dili taga dinhi*. Faced with increased eviction pressure and declining marine resources, it is the *lumad/langyaw* distinction that has intensified in Sibulan. I suggest that under current conditions, to obtain wider recognition as *lumad* has become more difficult, the definition of who to include has narrowed, but also become more important. Recognition from elected political figures that some families are *lumad* to the area has an influence on the way these conflicts are negotiated and evolve, yet the intensification of pressures to formalise tenure to the foreshore, in one scenario, may work to change the options available to those who claim rights based on *lumad* status. When it comes to designing and defining a formalised tenure system for coastal land, *lumad* brokers and neighbourhood *liders* are seldom consulted.

**A public forum for the few**

During the period of fieldwork, there was great secrecy surrounding the new zoning and land use plan, and when there were ‘information drives’ to enlighten the ‘stakeholders’ along the coast, the vast majority of coastal dwellers were not invited. The majority of the residents in coastal Sibulan did not know that the re-classification of land that the municipal government of Sibulan was seeking to get approved was not to their advantage. If the plan receives final approval by the provincial government, many of the beachfront property buyers in Sibulan will be in an improved position to obtain and maintain Torrens title to beachfront lots. The plan redefines the size of the ‘salvage’ or ‘easement’ zone, the number of meters from mean high tide and inland which is not supposed to be alienable and disposable lands, shrinking it from twenty meters to only three metres (see Appendix D: Foreshore Lease and the new land use plan).

In October 2005, the Philippine Reclamation Authority and the municipal government of Sibulan invited people to a ‘public forum’ and an ‘information drive’ on the new
reclamation law, Administrative Order No. 2005-1. The invitation was not sent to the majority of the coastal dwellers in Sibulan, not even to key lumad broker households. Only beach house and resort owners and other interested higher-status people who had bought beachfront properties were invited. The poor or the ‘masa’ (the masses) are frequently referred to as “the ignorant classes…” (Aldecoa-Rodriguez 1989a: 39), assumed to be uneducated and lacking the capacity to understand the importance and purpose of the new regulations on house construction, property development and tenure along the shoreline. At this meeting, participants were introduced to the laws and regulatory practices that now apply (key definitions; the necessary permits for the building of houses, seawalls, fences and other constructions along the coastline; delineation of responsibilities between government agencies; what applications to fill out to secure tenure to foreshore and adjacent dry-shore areas). Examples of more tricky situations were given, such as when land has eroded or there has been accretion (the ‘foreshore’ becomes dry land). Since many beach house and property owners in Sibulan, with the consent of the municipal government, have put up buildings close to the foreshore and many of these owners have built seawalls to protect their land and also in several cases extended their properties into the sea, an ad-hoc committee was put together at the end of the meeting “to find solution to all these problems.” The committee consisted of three representatives of the Philippine Reclamation Authority, two representatives from the DENR, the barangay captain of Minaba, the former municipal assessor of Sibulan, the Municipal Engineer, the Municipal Planning and Development Coordinator, and two representatives of “affected owners,” one of whom was Jennifer, the beachfront property investor from Manila. The committee did a survey of the coastline and some beach house owners who had built seawalls several meters into the foreshore were informed that they would have to apply for foreshore lease. Seawalls are said to prevent the erosion of land and, apart from protecting ‘private property,’ said to have public benefit. Jennifer said that the DENR encouraged beach property owners to build seawalls.
The lack of cases in Talak

In barangay Talak, there have been fewer court cases over land and less displacement pressure. However, almost the entire beachfront has already been sold and seawalls and beach houses have been built. More of the families who live along the coastline of Talak have claimed beachfront land and sold lots to newcomers. Those who settled closer to the beach in Talak have solid lumad status and have closer ties with agricultural landowners than in Amio and Minaba. Although they did settle closer to the shoreline and many men specialised in fishing during the second half of the twentieth century, they did by and large not settle onto the beach itself, but preferred to have their houses on the other side of the road from the beach. The beachfront could therefore be sold without much displacement pressure. Many own their house lots by having it registered at the assessor’s office. The heirs of the registered owner refer to the land as the "conjugal property of our lolo" (grandfather) or "lola" (grandmother). To push through with further formalisation of their claim has not been necessary. Their land tenure security is good enough, at least for now.

Today there is no more beachfront land for them to sell. As pointed out in Chapter Six, many have realised that the price they got for the land a few years ago is now very low compared to the price the same land sells for today. Now they can only look on with envy at those who bought these lots and sell them today for ten times the price they paid for it the 1990s. Their residential lots are also getting crowded and more distant kin are sometimes under pressure to be replaced with closer kin. A major problem faced by fishers in Talak is that there is very little space for them to park their boats. Access down to the beach has in many instances been significantly reduced as brick walls and fences have been put up. During high tide it is difficult to pass along the beach because lots have been extended into the sea. As also land on the other side of the road from the beach has begun to increase in price as rich newcomers seek to live not only on the beach but also to live near the beach, ensuring ocean view by building taller houses and even in one case an artificial hill, new opportunities and challenges arise, the outcome of which will have to be assessed in the future. Although lumad brokers in the fishing
community of Talak have lost much control over the beachfront in several areas, at the time of fieldwork, there were still strong house groups of fishers in Talak and they had lobbied strongly and with some success to limit further closing off of access to the beach.

**Court decisions and state response**

To what extent do the courts recognise *katungod* in land disputes and allow for transfer of ownership? *Katungod* may be one of the reasons for why there is a strong tendency for the Municipal Trial Court of Sibulan to judge in favour of long-term settled families in ‘ejectment’ cases. However, relatively recent arrivals of poor socio-economic status who have few connections to long-term settled families and local politicians are often faced with a negative decision at the MTC and will more often be forced to leave their house lots. At the Regional Trial Court in Dumaguete City, the outcome is more often negative also for *lumad* ‘informal dwellers’ and in favour of absentee titleholders. Through their connections and collaboration with some of the rich newcomers *lumads* have so far been able to fend off eviction pressure and appeal to higher levels of the court. The two cases I know of that have had decisions at the Court of Appeals have also ignored long-term possession, *lumad* status and *katungod* principles in eviction cases. One case awaits decision in the Supreme Court.

The response of local government institutions to the current land situation in Amio and Minaba has in one sense been passive, referring the disputes to the courts and not offering much in terms of resettlement. There has been no attempt to extend the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program to include foreshore areas or develop alternative tenure arrangements for marginalised coastal dwellers. It is interesting that international development agencies and NGOs have also stayed away from these conflicts and instead focused on what I see as often less contentious issues in coastal communities, such as the establishment of small Marine Protected Areas over coral reefs (see Chapter Eight).
Some of the families who have been evicted and not found alternative places to rebuild their houses have been offered small lots through “the government assisted relocation project.” Three families that recently lost in the Municipal Trial Court and lacked connections and financial resources to pursue the case further were each given 1000 pesos and about 50 square meters of land in ‘Little Tondo’ under a long-term mortgage arrangement with the municipal government. The individual lots are lined up on two rows and clearly defined. It is in this way that some influential government figures want to structure settlement patterns, land tenure, taxation and control. ‘Poor newcomers’ are welcome as legitimate residents in these defined spaces, as long as they pay their mortgage and land tax, obtain building permits and pay their electricity bills. Law-abiding citizens are on paper recognised as full members of the municipal community of Sibulan.

Conclusion

At the rural-urban interface in coastal Sibulan, land is highly sought after, for residence and access to income earning and livelihood activities, for real estate developments, for speculative purposes and leisure activities. To remain in possession of untitled land is becoming increasingly difficult for ‘informal’ coastal dwellers. Also titled land is difficult to hold on to and to claim possession of. Court cases have flourished since the second half of the 1990s. Among poorer segments of the coastal population, these conflicts create deep-felt anxiety over what will happen in the future. The majority of those who have become implicated in these cases find the experience extremely unsettling.

One thing is certain: In post-agrarian coastal Sibulan, property continues to be a key mechanism in social stratification. As investors and developers move in, control and planning become a different game. Several rich newcomers have relied on money, absentee titleholders of land, government support and property law to gain access to land and secure title. Governing elites and outside investors rely on discursive strategies and state regulation to legitimate the overall process and get support for their ownership
claims and uses of the beach. Both the imposition of administrative procedures and regulations, as well as the lack of enforcement of existing laws, has arguably contributed to transfer control and ownership of the shoreline to middle-and upper-class newcomers and local elites who have established large beach houses, small resorts and cottage rental places on coastal lots that have been fenced off and walled in. The main focus of state institutions have so far largely ignored the issue of securing tenure to the coastline for low-income families. The central government wants to earn money from shoreline areas and tourism developments: “...foreshore areas, if leased to interested parties and developed, can generate not only economic activity and employment but also the much needed revenue for the government” (The Republic of the Philippines 2005). By using the power of the state to regulate and enforce, but also to circumvent and avoid, many buyers of coastal properties have been able to obtain formal title along the coast and extend their land claims into the sea by building seawalls. The combined effect of the massive surge in demand for beach leisure and ocean view residence and the stricter – yet selective – application of property law to the shoreline gradually shift the control of beach space away from previous user groups, people who are unable to obtain legal title or foreshore lease, to well-off and richer people. Pressure has increased on coastal dwellers of all kinds to either have land titled in their own name or obtain foreshore lease. Both of these are cumbersome and expensive undertakings.

Is it not the case that as the gentrification process has sped up, state regulation and property law have been more forcefully applied to the coastal zone, and displacement pressure has increased, poor coastal dwellers’ common experience of class bias brings them together? Or does the relative strength and ongoing production of a local community of lumad coastal dwellers continue to have decisive effect – or become more important – in the definition of the appropriate use of space and ownership of land?

Property-law is applied in ways that ignore community. The court cases and the reclassification of the shoreline not only shed light on how rights are defended and understood, as people draw on both katungod and legal principles in conflicts over land,
but also that state institutions have so far first and foremost been keen to develop new instruments to allow outsiders with money to buy, own and lease the coastline and only secondarily concerned with tenure security of low-income coastal dwellers. In this context, *katungod* claims are made by lower-income coastal dwellers to point out that there is history and social fabric here, that people have lived in coastal Sibulan for many generations, that this is their home, their place, their community, this is where they make a living, and this is where they have a right to live. Instead of assuming a common identity among ‘poor people’ or local communities faced with similar challenges, however, I argue that the distinction between *lumad* and *langyaw* has taken on new significance as the coastline has become hot property and marine resources have declined. As a consequence, poorer newcomers with weak kin-ties to long-term settled families are being ostracised from the local community.

While state institutions and governing elites, keen to focus on instituting a clearly defined system of property law and grow the national economy, ignore the claims to land made by the ‘poor’ based on *katungod*, the ‘poor’ — while not objecting to a system of private land ownership *per se* and keen to have legal ownership themselves — question the legitimacy of the process through which many rich people have obtained private title in the first place. They experience first hand how property law is used to wrest and grab land from already vulnerable groups. At the same time, the rich-poor and class-based differences in perception that looks to be the key explanation for the way rights are voiced and defended, I suggest, can benefit from a more thorough examination of kin-based house groups and neighbourhood clusters and local political status of *lumads*.

The conflict over land is in some ways and in some ‘ejectment cases’ similar to the more well documented disputes between large landowners/politicians/landlords and the peasantry/farm labourers (Kerkvliet 1997; Franco and Borras 2005). The Minaba court case seems to support the argument that ‘informal’ coastal dwellers are increasingly being defined as squatters and forced to leave coastal land. The other two cases,
although it is too early to say how they will conclude, looks to support the model of community formation outlined in Chapter Four and Five, where poorer newcomers are more likely be excluded from a re-defined lumad coastal community while some better-off residents amongst themselves gradually separate from the neighbourhood community.

There are many ‘evictors’ in coastal Sibulan: heirs of the old landed elites, a university, an owner of an OFW recruitment agency in Manila, business owners and larger-scale traders in Dumaguete City, and kin of title holders who do not themselves live on the land and seek to evict other kin to sell it to a third party. It is in this context that a model is needed which recognises a growing class of ‘middle-income’ citizens, the evolving formation of a local small-scale, place-based, family-organised coastal community, and the emerging lumad broker households among ‘informal’ coastal dwellers. This model also predicts that to ‘become local’ in peri-urban contexts is increasingly difficult and many will either have to rent a room, a small space for housing, or accept the governments offer of ‘relocation.’ Such a model of evolving community formation has to be interpreted within a larger framework, a broader social dialectic which works to re-appropriate coastal space for new uses, imbue natural landscapes with particular kinds of aesthetic and curative value (the ‘rural idyll’) and establish the property relations and regulatory regimes that emerge from this dialectic.

The evidence of the claim I make in the introduction to this chapter, that local communities of long-term settled coastal dwellers have been able to reproduce older kinds of localised relations and establish new ones that are important to them, despite massive displacement pressure, lie in the fact that they are still in possession of the coastal land. Despite more than ten years of being threatened with legal cases and harassment, many beach dwelling groups continue to live in kin-based house groups and larger neighbourhood clusters. Settler groups have not been equally vulnerable to new developments. So far, it has been those who live in smaller kin groups, are more recent arrivals and lack good connections with higher-status, politically influential people who
have been forced to leave. They may also make a weaker claim as they do not feel they have become 'people from here,' either in their own eyes or in the eyes of others. Outsiders' ability to enter into a locality through legal eviction depends, as Erik Cohen found to be the case in a coastal region of southern Thailand in the early 1980s, on "the continued ability, desire, and resoluteness of the locals to fend off the intruders, that is, on factors such as the closeness and solidarity of the local community, resourcefulness of its leadership, and even its willingness to resort to violence" (1983: 161).

When analysing the outcome of the conflict over land, not surprisingly, 'poor newcomers' have been more vulnerable to displacement pressure than families recognised as lumad. While lumad leadership is based on a kind of local authority which governing elites through state institutions look to marginalise and make redundant ("we are law-abiding citizens"), lumad brokers and neighbourhood leaders look to be able to mobilise broader support within the barangay and have better connections to some municipal councillors. Despite immense pressure, they have been able to claim and sell 'beachfront properties,' remain in possession of residential lots and forge new and important relationships with some rich newcomers. Almost every square meter of the beach in Amio and Minaba is today claimed by more than two parties. While there are conflicts within extended lumad family groups, the pattern of who groups together, comes to conflict and how conflicts are resolved suggests that the kind of social formation which this dissertation has found to be so important to many coastal dwellers in peri-urban Sibulan continues to evolve.
Chapter Eight: *Lumad* engagement in marine regulation

January 4, 2006. One pig and five chickens were slaughtered in the morning. In the afternoon, the tables were set in the garden fronting the sea. Around thirty guests — friends and neighbours from across kin and clan lines — had already arrived for my birthday party when the commotion started on the beach in front of us.

The local sea warden (*bantay dagat*) had called in three policemen to back him up in apprehending Ed and three of his relatives (a brother-in-law and two nephews) for illegal fishing. The *bantay dagat* and the policemen confiscated Ed’s boat and the 200-meter long fishing net which allegedly had been placed inside the six-hectare no-take marine protected area (MPA). Ed was told that he had to pay a fine of 2000 pesos to get the fishing net (owned by a cousin) and his boat back from the police. Two thousand pesos was far more than Ed could afford. Ed argued that the fishing net had unfortunately drifted into the MPA, but the *bantay dagat* did not believe him. Ed wanted the police to show compassion. Without his boat and net, Ed argued, he would not be able to feed his family.

This is when it dawned on me that the birthday party functioned as a stage for the *bantay dagat* to show his power and make a statement in the local discourse on coastal resources management. The birthday party had provided me with an opportunity to show my appreciation for the hospitality I had been shown during the first three months of fieldwork. I had invited several families living along the coast, people I had worked with in barangay Amio and Talak. Among the guests were two former *bantay dagat* who frequently voiced their critique of the slack enforcement of illegal fishing during the monthly meetings between the small-scale fishermen’s association and the municipal government. They had both lost their salaried *bantay dagat* positions after the 2004 election. Everybody knew that was the result of not supporting the victorious incumbent mayor. The *bantay dagat* who blew the whistle on Ed had voted for the mayor. He, along with his police friends, still wearing their uniforms, attended the birthday party later in the evening. Ed and his family, although invited, did not show up.

To understand a fuller picture of what was going on with Ed, it is necessary to point out that illegal fishing\(^{185}\) is not uncommon. Only some get caught for illegal fishing. The pattern of who gets caught and forced to pay fines for fishing practices defined as illegal is affected by many factors, one of which is participation in fishermen’s associations.

\(^{185}\) It is not always clear what is legal and illegal. To fish inside the MPA, however, is clearly understood as illegal by fishers in this area of the Philippines.
These associations were formed as part of the Coastal Resource Management Project during the second half of the 1990s. Although Ed had lived in Amio for almost twenty years and was a full-time fisherman with good hook-and-line skills, he had not been involved in the local fishermen’s association. Why had Ed not been involved in resource management?

Community-based Coastal Resource Management (CB-CRM) is a development initiative designed to protect the environment, encourage ecotourism and improve the livelihoods of fisher folk and coastal communities. During the 1990s, there was a rapid increase in funding for projects and programs to implement a system of CB-CRM to try to solve the problems of overfishing and destructive fishing techniques. An important component in these efforts to institutionalise an effective marine protection system was to include members of the local communities in the design, implementation, monitoring and enforcement of new regulations. Despite an official discourse stressing broad-based participation, in coastal barangays in the municipality of Sibulan, where there is a diverse group of coastal and marine resource users, only members of families recognised to be lumad, or who had married into such families, had been actively involved in CRM-projects.

The theme of participation in CRM and membership in local fishing communities forms one part of this chapter. The other theme is political patronage. So far in the dissertation, I have not paid much attention to the prevalent phenomenon of personal rivalries along factional lines within lumad family groups, in particular linked to elections. I argued in Chapter Four that kin-based clustering of houses and ‘clan’-like neighbourhood formations are crucial for lumad leadership. However, members of the lumad family group are frequently pitted against each other in election politics, as they join competing alliances. The patron-client factional model predicts that when vertical ties become important, horizontal solidarity suffers and conflict and cooperation along class lines are relegated to the backseat (Hollnsteiner 1963; Lande 1965; Szanton 1971; Kerkvliet 1995). I will show an example of such political patronage in Sibulan, where retaliation
politics against non-supporters of the victorious mayoral candidate prevented more
effective leadership among lumad fishermen to deal with what they perceived to be
common problems in marine resource regulation. I will nevertheless argue that the
actual and potential cooperation between members of different factional lines within
these lumad family groups suggests that vertical links to elected politicians and outside
patrons may be less the shaping force of intra-community dynamics at the level of
neighbourhoods than what is often assumed in this literature. The chapter also presents
examples of class-based differences in approach to CRM and what is prioritised by
municipal government officials and the small-scale fishermen.

While the chapter shows that both patron-client factional links and contending views
along class lines are both central to people’s experience and understanding of marine
resource regulation, I will highlight the relevance of lumad political status in CRM, in
particular how some fishermen from families with lumad status have monopolised
positions in the neighbourhood associations set to implement, monitor and enforce
marine regulations in near-shore waters. The chapter thus underscores a key point made
in previous chapters, that there are differences among people in similar classes or socio-
economic conditions, between lumad and langyaw.

The negotiations over marine resources regulation bring out cleavages and cooperation
among different groups of coastal dwellers and reveal information about their ability to
define legitimate and illegitimate resource use practises. During the 1990s, the new
regulatory measures pushed by external donors, NGOs, marine experts, conservation
societies and government agencies gave a boost to the importance of lumad status in
neighbourhood affairs. It is from an analysis of the involvement of neighbourhood
liders and lumad brokers in marine resource regulation, as presidents of government-
accredited fishermen’s associations and deputised sea wardens, and how they come to
clash and cooperate with each other, governing elites and other fishermen and resource
users on policy formation and enforcement activities that I will show how lumad status
is used to redraw and strengthen boundaries and distinctions between themselves and
other categories of resource users, seeking to assert authority over coastal space to consolidate a particular form of localism amidst stronger cosmopolitan influences in the coastal zone.

**Coastal Resource Management**

The combined effect of growth in larger commercial fishing vessels, destructive fishing techniques, loss of mangrove forests, siltation, pollution, and rapid increase in coastal populations has put pressure on marine ecosystems and severely reduced fish stocks. During the 1970s, marine biologists and professional divers documented that many coral reefs in the Philippines were in a bad shape. Of the 632 reefs surveyed in the Philippines in 1982, 70 per cent had less than 50 per cent live coral cover (Alcala 2001: 5). The first developments of beach housing in Sibulan in the late 1970s coincided with a growing awareness of environmental issues, increased availability of SCUBA (self-contained underwater breathing apparatus) and the implementation of marine protected areas. The language of CRM emerged from conservation-oriented activists linked to educational and research institutions in different parts of the world.

Negros Oriental researchers affiliated with Silliman University were pioneers in what became known as Community-Based Coastal Resource Management (CB-CRM). So-called community-based-approaches to manage agricultural resources had been explored in the Philippines since the 1950s. Within the discursive language of ‘community organising,’ Silliman University Marine Lab applied a similar approach to manage marine resources. A no-take MPA was established as part of the Sumilon program, which was the first experiment of its kind in the Philippines (Alcala 2001: 18-19). Sumilon Island is located just off the southern tip of Cebu Island and has continued

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186 In 1973-1974, researchers at the newly established Marine Laboratory at Silliman University, Dumaguete City, initiated an educational program on the conservation of corals and coral reef fish on Sumilon Island. Some of the researchers and activists at Silliman gained scholarly credentials and obtained post-graduate training in the U.S., collaborated with overseas researchers and development institutions, and have had considerable success in influencing central and local government units of the importance of CRM.
to be a commonly visited fishing ground among Sibulan fishermen. In the Philippines, in the second half of the 1980s, in the aftermath of the People Power Revolution which overthrew Ferdinand Marcos in 1986 (EDSA 1), the concern over the consequences of overfishing and destructive fishing techniques grew stronger among broader segments of Philippine society. Stronger calls were made for the participation of fishermen in management activities and, as reflected in the Local Government Code of 1991 (RA 7160), for the devolution of responsibilities and control over coastal and marine resources from national to municipal governments and local communities.\textsuperscript{187} Civil society organisations were given a stronger role in designing, implementing and evaluating development projects and programs. In terms of funds and other resources being channelled into CRM-projects, the main bulk was invested in the regulation of the small-scale fisheries sector, in particular conservation measures to save and re-habilitate coral reefs and reef-associated species by the establishment of MPAs and banning of destructive techniques. In part, this interest in saving coral reefs and encourage SCUBA diving reflects a stronger cosmopolitan orientation to coastal space (see Chapter Six).

In the 1980s, the Central Visayas Regional Project established some MPAs in Negros, Cebu and Bohol, all in locations that were tourist dive sites. In 1992, the EU-funded Centre for Establishment of Marine Reserves in Negros Oriental (CEMRINO) began

\textsuperscript{187} An important part of the reform process has been the implementation of the Local Government Code of 1991. The code implied that significant powers, responsibilities, and resources were devolved from the national to the local level.

With the Code of 1991, municipal governments were given powers and responsibilities to manage, protect and use marine and aquatic resources within municipal waters (15 km. into the sea from the shoreline), including the authority for declaring and managing MPAs. Importantly, the code explicitly accord NGOs and People’s Organizations a role in local governance (George 1998: 227). The National Integrated Protected Area System (NIPAS) Act of 1992 and the Philippines Fisheries Code of 1998 (RA 8550) are also setting the legal and policy framework for area protection and local resource management. The Fisheries Code made it illegal for commercial fishing boats (more than 3 gross tons) to operate in municipal waters and states that municipal governments shall regulate access to municipal waters through a “special mayor’s permit.” Overall, the DENR protects the “environmental integrity of Philippine territorial waters” and have “the specific mandate to manage mangroves and associated terrestrial and aquatic flora and fauna within the marine zone” (IBRD/WB 2005).

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work to find additional area protection sites and, in cooperation with local governments, undertook training of local fishing communities to enable them to operate a Community-Based Coastal Resource Management system. A volunteer for German Development Service and two employees at the Provincial Planning and Development Office's Resource Management Division of Negros Oriental were involved in these activities, working with fishing communities in Sibulan from the early 1990s. The Philippine-wide, USAID-funded, multi-million dollar Coastal Resource Management Project (CRMP) of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) ran from 1996 to 2002. A few NGOs, Silliman University Marine Lab, the University of the Philippines Marine Science Institute and municipal governments were now involved in a range of different CRM activities (community organising, training, ordinance formulation, establishing monitoring and enforcement teams, etc.). Much attention was directed at the involvement and training of local leaders. They became key figures in the assessment and mapping of coastal resources, drawing on their knowledge and leadership.

On the recommendation of CEMRINO, two 6-hectare MPAs were established in Sibulan in the late 1990s, one in Talak and one in Amio. The small size of the MPAs was partly an outcome of opposition from some fishermen, but it was also a recommendation of CEMRINO not to make the protected areas too large, as monitoring would be difficult. In the last phase of the CRMP, a Coastal Resource Management Plan was developed and incorporated into the Comprehensive Municipal Development Plan.

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188 German Development Service and the University of Bremen provided technical support to CEMRINO.

189 The name has later been changed to the Environment and Natural Resources Management Division (ENRMD) and was transferred from the Provincial Planning and Development Office to the supervision of the Office of the Governor.

190 It has been estimated that there are 921 hectares of coral reef in Sibulan. With only 12 hectares protected by MPAs, the overall effect on the environment and livelihood may be questioned. The broader idea, however, is to combine the MPA-approach with other measures. The MPA also works as a learning site both for resource users and researchers.
Plan of Sibulan. External researchers connected to universities and transnational NGOs continue to collect data and try to evaluate the effects of MPAs on fish stocks, marine habitats and other marine ecology variables.

According to George Oloriz, the MPA “serves as a place where fish lay their eggs so they will multiply.” Jun, the older brother of George and the president of Amio Small-scale Fishermen’s Association (ASFA), said: “The marine reserve [MPA], that’s just a program of the government so there would be a place where fish can lay their eggs. [...] That’s built so people can take good care of it, protect it, so the fish will have some kind of sanctuary and to prevent overfishing.” All forms of fishing have been banned inside the MPAs in Sibulan. The idea is that the ‘spill-over effect’ of adult fish to the areas outside the no-take zone will be big enough to increase the total amount of fish available to local fishermen. Hence, it will be possible for them to have abundant catch without having to take their boats far into the sea and without using sophisticated fishing gears. That is how the idea of coastal resource management has been most forcefully sold to fishermen, local government units (LGUs), NGOs and other sectoral groups in many places in the Visayas. Monitoring and enforcement activities have been delegated to the bantay dagat and the ‘local community’ of fishers (government-accredited fishermen’s associations), but only the former has been granted police authority to apprehend people for illegal fishing. The ‘local community’ is meant to be reporting illegal fishing activities to the bantay dagat.

**Participants in CRM**

The members of fishermen’s associations who have gone through MPA-management training are almost universally members of long-term settled or lumad families who

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191 The municipal government of Sibulan received support from the CRMP, the Ting Matiao Foundation and the Tanon Strait Commission to develop the five-year “Coastal Resource Management Plan.”

192 Regulation of specific fishing practices, educational and institutional components, and livelihood diversification have been part of the agenda as well. Apart from marine protected areas, some projects have focused on mangrove reforestation, fish aggregating devices, mariculture and artificial reefs.
have solid status as *mananagat*. George, Jun and other *lumad* fishermen in Amio and Talak have attended seminars on CRM since 1991 and been *bantay dagat* since 1992. This first *bantay dagat* team, all with *lumad* status, refer to themselves as “the original *bantay dagat*.” They attended various workshops and seminars and went on exposure trips to Apo Island193 to see what can be achieved through a successful CB-CRM program. They learned how to conduct surveys of corals and fish and have had practical instructions in zoning, ordinance formulation and enforcement of legal instruments. “We underwent a lot of training,” said George. Educational materials (such as posters, slides, comics and videos) were disseminated to a larger audience.

There was a spirit of optimism among several leaders of neighbourhood fishermen’s associations during the “heydays”194 of CRM-training and community organising in the second half of the 1990s. Although very few fishermen from ‘poor newcomer’ or ‘mode 3’ fishing households were participating in these sessions (see below), virtually all married fishermen with *lumad* status or fishermen who had married into such families in Amio and Talak were involved in some CRM-activities at this time. Drawing on CRM resources, some *leaders* were able to bring together small-scale fishermen across kin, clan and factional lines into the same fishermen’s association. Neighbourhood *leaders* who were heads of fishermen’s associations were able to sustain an interest in protection work and, if not come to agreement on all issues, at least inform wider segments of marine resource users of which fishing methods were illegal. They began to act as ‘conservation oriented stakeholders.’ They were strong advocates for the non-take MPA. They quickly became possessive of the MPA and wanted to protect what they referred to as “our marine resources.” They made it clear that illegal fishing inside the MPA was strictly forbidden and would be enforced. The *bantay dagat* team in Amio were in

193 Apo Island is located off the south-eastern tip of Negros and is considered to be one of the biggest success stories in CB-CRM in the Philippines. Apo Island has become a popular scuba dive destination and several million pesos in dive fees are collected each year.

194 This was an expression used by a man working with coastal resource management for the provincial government, DENR.
frequent skirmishes with fishermen from Dumaguete when the MPA was established in 1999. They received municipal police backup to deal with these conflicts. In these enforcement activities, they acted not only as neighbourhood *liders*, but as government officials. They leaned on municipal legislation and police assistance to protect and improve marine resources in their own place.

But this relatively cooperative spirit among *lumad* fishermen on CRM was soon to be challenged and weakened. In the next section, I will show how retaliatory election politics had a negative effect on cooperation among members of the same *lumad* families, and then assess the effects of such factional politics on these families’ ability to sustain ‘corporate’ capabilities in dealing with issues of common concern and interest to them.

**Factional politics: “The mayor infused politics into resource management”**

During the 2001 and 2004 elections, the vulnerability of what had been achieved in terms of ‘community organising’ became evident. As predicted by the patron-client factional model of politics in the lowland Philippines, the relatively successful establishment of a barangay and municipal *bantay dagat* organization quickly eroded when rival political candidates used the *bantay dagat* positions as a tool to win votes in the election.

The two main fishermen’s associations in Amio and Talak had leaders who did not support the victorious mayor at the 2001 and 2004 elections. Especially after the 2004 election, when the former vice-mayor of Sibulan decided to challenge the mayor and failed to win, several fishermen lost their monthly honorarium for voting for the challenger. There was also a reduction in the number of municipal *bantay dagat* positions. There were 17 municipal *bantay dagat* positions in Sibulan in 2003, each receiving a monthly honorarium of 1500 pesos. After the election, there were 9 *bantay*
dagat positions in Sibulan.195 The honorarium of each remaining bantay dagat increased to 2500 pesos per month. In barangay Amio and Talak, there were seven bantay dagat who lost their honorarium for not voting for the victorious mayor at the 2001 and 2004 elections. They were part of a group of ‘original bantay dagats,’ lumad fishermen who had gone through extensive training in resource management since the early 1990s.

In Amio, in December 2003, on my first visit to Sibulan, members of the local fishermen’s association said the MPAs had helped preserve the corals and allowed reef species to recover. When I came back in January 2005, things had changed. The two Oloriz family groups living in coastal Amio voted for two different mayoral candidates at the 2004 election. Two bantay dagat and their families voted for the incumbent mayor, while three bantay dagat and their families voted for the challenger. As mentioned above, Argel Oloriz was one of the two bantay dagat who voted for the mayor and Jun and George were two of the three bantay dagat who voted for the opponent. All five bantay dagat used to be active members in ASFA prior to the election.196

195 The reduction in the number of bantay dagat looks to be related to the fact that the CRMP no longer had project activities in Sibulan and CRM had become incorporated into the existing governance structures. It was in 2000 that the municipal bantay dagat organisation was established, taking over from the barangay bantay dagat organisation which had existed since 1992. The barangay bantay dagat did not receive a honorarium but was based on volunteer work.

A certain “agrarian” bias in focus may have reappeared. The municipality of Sibulan stretches far into the mountains and its coastline is only about 8.7 kilometres long. Five barangays and Poblacion are located along the shoreline and 9 barangays are inland. Approximately 46% of the Sibulan population lived in the coastal barangays/poblacion in 2007 (21,692 of 47,162). The victorious mayor was known to push development projects in upland barangays and had a reputation among many fishermen who had gone through CRM-training and were members of fishermen’s associations for not being particularly interested in and supportive of marine protection, not being serious about it.

196 Despite losing his monthly honorarium due to retaliation politics, Jun, as the leader of ASFA, was still a regular member of the Municipal Fisheries and Aquatic Resource Management Council (MFARMC). He had been appointed lider by the members of ASFA when the organisation was formally created in the late 1990s. MFARMC is tasked with giving advice and recommendations on municipal fisheries ordinances and conducting public hearings.
The political candidates promised to hire or fire based on voter support, in effect acting as public sector employer patrons. The municipal government is the largest employer in Sibulan and many of those who have an income from the local government are casuals, such as *bantay dagat*. The spirit of cooperation deteriorated after the mayor, in the words of one fisherman, “injected politics into coastal resource management.” The retaliation politics wiped out the possibility of creating wider-reaching consensus and effective leadership on CRM.

Those who retained their positions as *bantay dagat* after the election stayed away from ASFA-meetings in 2005 and 2006. At a meeting between ASFA and line agency workers of the municipal government, one fisherman said: “At our meetings, the members of the *bantay dagat* should also attend, so that we can share our complaints with them, so they will know.” Another fisher said: “The members of *bantay dagat* never attend our meetings anymore. They are too proud.” Other fishermen had also stopped attending the meetings of ASFA. During the second half of the 1990s, participation in project and resource management activities was much higher. At the monthly meetings between ASFA and line agency officials from the municipal government, around twenty fishermen used to attend the meetings when the CRMP was still operational. Many of those who participated in these activities were cautious optimists about the effects of the new resource regulations. During fieldwork in 2005 and 2006, there were less than ten regulars attending ASFA-meetings.

Despite losing their monthly honorarium, however, Jun and George persistently called for improved protection measures: “Our sea is now very white. See? That’s all sand. No more corals....We should extend the marine reserve to protect the corals here,” said George. He pointed out the devastating effect on corals from extraction of abalones – *kapinan*.\(^\text{197}\) Since the *kapinan* hides in the corals, those who collect them have to break off coral branches to get to them. *Kapinan* were sold to a local buyer for 140 to 200 pesos per kilo.

\(^{197}\) *Haliotis sp.* The selling price in Cebu City was reported to be 2000 pesos per kilo.
pesos per kilo and then brought across the Tanon Strait to Santander and onwards to Cebu City and Hong Kong. Young men from ‘poor newcomer’ families who did not own a boat were the largest group of people involved in collecting kapinan. Coral destruction is illegal, but was not monitored and enforced outside the MPAs. “What can you do so that coral cover will not decline even more,” I asked Jun:

“It depends on the town now. We have already complained to them that people who get kapinan are destroying our corals. We also asked help from DENR, but they say it is the responsibility of the municipal now. But the town is not acknowledging the problem. The town doesn’t give a damn anymore. Our livelihood is declining because there is no more...kuan...Every time we raise our complaints, they don’t have solutions, no answer.”

This group of ‘original bantay dagat’ who were no longer on the government’s payroll argued for an expansion of area protection and repeatedly pointed out that monitoring and enforcement activities no longer worked. They wanted the two municipal bantay dagat of Amio (their cousins) to attend their meetings and be more active in enforcement of illegal activities.

In July 2006, at the monthly meeting between members of a small-scale fishermen’s association and three government line agency workers from the Fishery Development and Coastal Resource Management section of the Municipal Agriculture Office, Jun Oloriz Jr. openly criticised the slack enforcement of illegal commercial purse seine fishing (locally known as kubkob) inside the municipal waters of Sibulan. With a direct, matter-of-fact tone, speaking in Cebuano, Jun said: “The school of manolsog is gone now because of kubkob fishing. The bantay dagat is no longer operating here in

198 From June to September 2006, during a period when the southwestern monsoon winds (habagat) kicked in and the price of fuel increased to new record levels, there was rampant illegal commercial purse seine fishing, locally known as kubkob, within municipal waters in the southern part of the Tanon Strait. Illegal commercial fishing within municipal waters is an issue which has been largely ignored in Sibulan, despite prevalent critique from small-scale fishermen. Many fishermen in Sibulan are in direct competition with kubkobs, competing for small pelagic species such as mackerels, round scads and small tunas. On average, of the fishermen included in this research, more than 50% of the fish caught by hook-and-liners were the same pelagic species caught by the kubkobs.
our place. Now there is no more manolsog."¹⁹⁹ "Before," referring to the time when he was still a municipal bantay dagat, Jun continued, "we would go after the kubkob. Today, who can we report to or file a case with? If you can only give us someone to call and report to, it would be a start." Numerous times, Jun had reported illegal commercial fishing to the local bantay dagat (his first cousin), but to no avail.

For the year 2006, not a single kubkob was apprehended for illegal fishing in the waters of Sibulan. "It's useless even to complain. They [referring to the mayor, the head of police and the head of the bantay dagat association] are all corrupt," said another fisher. Lack of political will among elected leaders is a commonly cited reason for why kubkob fishing continues more or less unchecked. If the mayor is not pushing the issue, the fishermen argue, illegal commercial fishing will continue. The hook-and-line fishers of Sibulan do experience a clear bias in what ordinances are formulated and which ones are enforced. They interpret the continued illegal fishing of kubkobs as a kind of stealing. They feel they are robbed of resources that are meant for them, as stated in the Philippine Fisheries Code of 1998. Small-scale fishers' critique of the lack of enforcement of illegal kubkob fishing was not treated with urgency. Owners of commercial fishing boats are part of the local and regional elite and the operators of these boats, despite its illegality, have been able to continue to fish inside municipal waters. In the Philippines, mayors, heads of police, congressmen and judges, along with other local and regional business elites, have direct ownership interests in the commercial fishing sector. The frequent close links between owners of commercial

¹⁹⁹ What fishermen claim, and the fish catch records in this study supports, is that there is a connection between the observed number of kubkob operations in the southern Tanon Strait and the sudden drop in the catch among lasdak fishers over the next days. While there are other factors impacting on the availability of target fish, such as the lunar cycle, the weather, water temperature, the number of barracudas, dolphins and small-scale fishers, and so forth, the more than thirty fishers I interviewed on the topic of declining fish catch in Amio, Minaba and Talak all interpreted the kubkob-operations to have a direct negative impact on their livelihood situation.
fishing boats and the regulators of the commercial fishing sector make enforcement difficult. 200

The mayor reportedly responded that the former bantay dagat only complain because they did not win in the election. The climate for cooperation had deteriorated and the job of preventing illegal commercial fishing and coral destruction was not easy for the remaining bantay dagat. George said: “The bantay dagat has only nine members. Only three of them are on duty [at any one time]. They are not visible here in our place.” They also complained that the new head of the municipal bantay dagat organisation was “not even a fisherman.” While criticising their close neighbours and cousins who retained their bantay dagat positions, Jun and George wanted to regain their jobs as bantay dagat and called for better cooperation. Argel and the other members of the group of ‘original bantay dagat’ who voted for the mayor agreed that more needed to be done, but pointed out that they had limited resources. They stayed away from ASFA-meetings because they knew they would be met with public criticism and could do little to improve the situation.

While being caught in heated conflict along alliance lines, lumad families tend to have much more that bind them together than what keeps them apart as a result of splitting into different alliance groups. Even if there may have been a split along similar lines even before the retaliatory CRM politics started, a deeper split grounded in longer intra-familial patterns of neighbourhood conflict, the Oloriz families in Amio beach agreed on many things. Both groups had members who interacted on a daily basis, buying and selling, lending and borrowing, exchanging greetings, and so on. They had all come

200 In a separate interview on the problems faced by small-scale fishermen in Sibulan, Jun reiterated his critique of kubkob fishing:

“Commercial fishing is a really big problem. They fish once only, and it’s all gone. We cannot do anything. And the bantay dagat cannot run after them, and besides there are only a few of them [bantay dagats]...One kubkob can catch 100 coolers in one night of fishing 200 ...We cannot do anything about this. Only the national government can do something...The municipality cannot be trusted anymore. If you are mayor or head of police you can say: ‘give me 15,000 per kubkob. That’s what we are thinking. They are in power while we are just small time fishers. We can only complain.’”
together as one in the court conflict described in the previous chapter, in an alliance with a rich newcomer. At funerals, too, they all came together to pay their respect to the deceased and his or her immediate family. Some of their sons played on the same local basket ball team. Importantly, they continued to live next to each other on the same beach, only separated by the beach houses of a few rich newcomers. The fishermen in these competing alliances, too, relied on similar fishing techniques and agreed on what regulatory measures they deemed appropriate and which ones they lobbied to have banned. They had all appropriated the language of CRM and drew on very similar knowledge of marine environments to defend their own resource practices. That they were split into two different political alliances played into the way they argued and acted on some issues, but it would be a mistake to interpret these vertical ties and external links to elected politicians to be the only or even main determinant of neighbourhood dynamics in coastal Sibulan. Such vertical links, in a context of CRM, have given members of families with lumad status, both those who supported the victorious mayoral candidate and those who did not, space to negotiate and voice their concerns and be recognised as legitimate political entities in matters pertaining to marine resource regulation.

Jun and George complained about the way CRM was practised in Sibulan and were disappointed that they had been sacked as municipal bantay dagats for voting against the incumbent mayor. To limit further coral destruction, Jun and George found the ‘trouble with community’ to be linked to a lack of cooperation both within neighbourhoods, in particular among leaders of their own lumad ‘clan,’ and the lack of stronger support from municipal and provincial agencies for the problems they faced. Their main concern was not the non-participation of ‘mode 3’ fishermen and kapinan collectors from ‘poor newcomer’ households in ASFA.

**Non-participation in CRM**

The former sugarcane plantation workers who settled in Amio and Minaba and their descendants have not been involved in CRM-training. I mentioned in Chapter Three that
fishermen in Minaba have not been included in government statistics. In official records, there were no fishermen living in this barangay. Yet there were more than 20 boats owned by coastal Minaba residents docked along the shoreline at the time of my survey in 2006. The fishermen in Minaba did not have a government-registered fishermen's association, which was a requirement for becoming involved in CRM-training. In my interpretation, there are four main reasons for this non-inclusion. Firstly, the settlers in Minaba were seen as 'poor newcomers' who historically have been engaged more in farming than fishing. They were not 'real' fishermen. Secondly, there were only a few coral reef patches in near-shore waters of Minaba. As a consequence, there was no recommendation from external experts to establish MPAs in the barangay and no training of local fishermen in CRM. Thirdly, the settler group in coastal Minaba was subject to an eviction case and influential government officials and an absentee title holder to the land were seeking to 'relocate' them to areas further away from the beach. Denying coastal dwellers in Minaba occupational status as 'fisher folks' (who by definition rely on the sea for livelihood) and not including them in municipal government records of part-time and full-time fishermen may have been a deliberate strategy by government officials. Coastal dwellers who were subject to eviction in Minaba could therefore not appeal for broader public sympathy to have a right to live close to the shoreline for their own survival. 261 They were not 'real' fishermen, but 'part-timers' and 'illegal squatters.' Lastly, and linked to their experience of land tenure insecurity and treatment by elites, they had very little trust in elected political leaders and other government officials, no longer believing they could expect help from them. But why did Ed not participate?

While participation – under some circumstances – can help ‘newcomers’ forge acceptance and obtain standing in the local community, those with a weaker status as newcomers were bystanders. There was no formal exclusion of ‘newcomers’ from

261 Commonly said to be among the ‘poorest of the poor,’ a widely circulating discourse in the Philippines states that better-off people and elites have a moral responsibility to help the small-scale ‘fisher folks.’
participation in these associations, but ‘newcomers’ did not believe the government policies on MPA-management and other regulatory measures would work, or at least not work for them. They were unlikely to get positions as municipal sea wardens and were unable to become leaders of the local fishermen’s associations. They could potentially start their own, but would not get the backing and support of lumads. As ‘part-timers,’ many also had a weaker commitment to fishing, not seeing themselves as mananagat, and having other work obligations and less time for these activities. While there were some full-timers among these settler groups as well, they did not find it worthwhile to get involved and felt excluded from CRM design, ordinance formulation, monitoring and enforcement activities. As a result, they rejected the notion that CRM would help improve their livelihoods.

Apart from the household’s status as locals or ‘people from here’ (taga dinhi), participation in CRM was influenced by ownership of boats and gear and household members’ fishing methods. Marine resource users who did not own boats were not involved in fishermen’s associations. Young boat-owning men, too, as long as they were unmarried or ‘established’ with live-in partners and children, did rarely get involved in organised CRM activities. The exception in Sibulan was some young men from lumad broker households with several fishing boats and many gear types where fathers were bantay dagats and involved in local fisherman’s associations, often as leaders. Future leaders in local fishermen’s associations will most likely be some of these young men. Part-timers and those who fish only occasionally and are pre-occupied with work elsewhere may not have the interest and time to involve themselves in CRM. 202

Despite retaliation politics and its negative effect on the cooperative capability of neighbourhoods and fishing communities, the patron-client factional cleavage seems to be much less of a factor in determining participation in CRM than lumad status. Instead, there are some other boundaries which are redrawn and strengthened in more

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202 There were also some full-time fishers from long-term settled families who were frustrated, believing it was useless or a waste of time trying to work with ‘corrupt’ or ‘incompetent’ government officials. 266
fundamental ways by these efforts at coastal and marine resource regulation. I will illustrate this by discussing the broader context for why Ed was caught for illegal fishing and forced to pay a fine.

**Ed and the Agudo family**

‘Insiders’ – people ‘from here’ (*taga dinhi*) – seldom get penalised the way Ed was. If apprehended, long-term residents are normally given a warning or two, but their boats and gear are unlikely to be confiscated. Coming from a fishing household in Santander, on the southern tip of Cebu Island, Ed had settled in his wife’s place. In doing so, he did not adhere to the expectation of virilocal post-marital residence. He was *langyaw* in Amio. Although Ed had lived almost twenty years in Amio and was a skilful hook-and-line fisher, not marrying into a family that was able to claim *lumad* status reduced his likelihood of participation in local fishermen’s associations. That Ed had four daughters and no sons may also have played into the matrix of relevant explanatory factors for Ed’s non-participation. In addition, members of the residential kin-group to which Ed belonged were frequently involved in the contested practise of collecting *kapinan*. One member of this group had connections to a *kapinan* buyer in Santander. Gleaning for valuable shells and other marine products intensifies during the months of little fish catch, when the northeasterly wind (*amihan*) is strong and waves are big. As shown above, there was much discussion among core members of ASFA of what to do to prevent coral destruction associated with the *kapinan* collectors at this time.

There is, also, a link between land disputes and enforcement of the fisheries sector that is relevant in this case. In the previous chapter, I showed that Ed’s wife’s extended family in Amio, the Agudo family, was subject of a civil case for eviction. The mother of Ed’s wife moved from the neighbouring barangay of Minaba to Amio in the late 1970s, using a weak kinship relation to ask permission to settle on the beach lot. When, in 2005, some members of the Agudo family tried to sell portions of what they now regarded as their own land to rich newcomers, they provoked serious reactions from some members of the Parena family who believed they had a stronger claim on the same
land. The *bantay dagat* who blew the whistle on Ed’s illegal fishing practice and confiscated his boat is related (first cousin and close neighbour) to some of the people who were involved in the legal case to have Ed and the other residents on the lot evicted. Threatened with eviction, Ed may not be very interested in potential future benefits from protecting the local reef.

There were also other conflicts between the Agudo family and the *bantay dagat* at the time of fieldwork. When the sister-in-law of Ed, Maria Agudo, allowed two *Sama(-bajao)* families to sleep under sheds on their house lot and let them use her sons outrigger canoes in 2006, as her sons had gone to Manila for construction work, the *Sama(-bajao)* fishermen were quickly accused of illegal fishing and their families were forced to leave. The Agudo family was thus prevented from earning money from hosting migrant fishers. In Amio, long-term settled families have been hosts to visiting migrant fishers for a long time. In recent times, both visiting migrant fishers who come to stay on the beach and ‘poor newcomers’ have found it increasingly difficult to be accepted into the local community of *lumad* families. In recent decades, when house group leaders who have weaker status as ‘*taga dinhi*’ seek out partnerships with migrant

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203 Samal speaking migrant fishers referred to as ‘*bajau*’ used up until the late 1980s to be more integrated into the local fishing community of Amio. *‘Bajao’* is an exonym with negative connotations in many areas of the Philippines. The group of people referred to as ‘*bajao*’ in Sibulan speaks Sama language. The *Sama-bajau* speakers, Sather estimates, comprise what may be “the most widely dispersed ethnolinguistic group indigenous to insular Southeast Asia” (Sather 1997: 2). During the 1970s and until the 1980s, there were more than a hundred members of *Sama(bajau)* families who came to Amio/Minaba during the main fishing season, building temporary stilt-houses in the inter-tidal zone. A few of them stayed behind till the next season. The *Sama(bajau)* were known for their spear fishing at night, but were also used as labour in compressor fishing. Despite being ethnically marked (non-Cebuano and non-Christian), they developed relationships with local long-term settled families and owners of more capital intensive gear. There were also a few examples of romantic endeavours between some of the local women and *Sama(bajau)* migrant fishers. The interaction that took place between non-Cebuano migrant fishers and local residents reflects a relative openness to let outsiders come to stay in Amio/Minaba.

*Sama(bajau)* fishermen have since the late 1980s been increasingly blamed for illegal fishing practices and their custom of building temporary stilt houses in the intertidal zone was declared illegal in the 1990s. When some of the *Sama(bajau)* families got together to build a brick house in 2000, it was demolished the next year, on order from the local government. In May 2007, a few *Sama(bajau)* families built three bamboo and nipa houses on the border between Amio and Minaba, but a few weeks later were forced to leave. The owner of a small resort complained to the police that ‘dirty *bajao*’ children disturbed her customers by begging.
fishers, or attempt to sell a beach lot, they have been faced with resolute action from *lumad* neighbourhood leaders and/or government agencies.

Ed was not convinced about the benefits of MPAs, either because he had limited knowledge of their purpose and function or because he believed those who were set to guard the MPAs were themselves likely to abuse their positions,\(^{204}\) or that eventual tourism diving is not going to benefit his own family. There seemed to be mistrust among the ‘bystanders’ on all matters of government policies, including CRM. However, over time, more fishermen have become used to the idea of MPAs and know very well that it is illegal to fish inside them. Fishermen who are not members of fishermen’s associations and who have not taken part in the training sessions during the 1990s tend to be gear focused when talking about their small catch levels, saying that with motorised boats and bigger fish nets and traps, life would be better. They reject the notion that CRM will help.

It was a conflation of different factors which led to Ed being apprehended on my birthday party. Given the intense critique of slack enforcement by his close relatives, Argel ceased the opportunity when it presented itself to engage in enforcement as political theatre to render Ed’s fishing operation visible.

To be closely associated with ‘the original people of the place’ and be recognised as a full member of neighbourhood communities has its advantages under current conditions.

**The power to make fishing legal**

While nurturing vertical links with political figures at the municipal level, exchanging (among other things) voter support for *bantay dagat* honoraria, *lumad* brokers and

\(^{204}\) When the DENR undertook an inspection of MPAs in Sibulan in 2006, inside one of them there were three large fish traps. Some fishers suspected the deputised sea warden were given a share of the catch from these traps. It was never revealed to me who owned these fish traps.
neighbourhood *liders* in the local fishing communities in Sibulan did not passively accept and implement externally designed regulatory measures. They used the discourse of CRM and their own knowledge of marine environments to lobby for flexible interpretation of some national laws and for stricter regulation of other laws.

The large *sahid* nets used in Sibulan were owned by fishermen who were part of somewhat better-off *lumad* house groups. Despite a national ban,\(^{205}\) after pressure from local fishermen like Mar who opposed a total ban, beach seining became permitted seasonally and in restricted areas in Sibulan. With much better knowledge of seasonal variations, bottom conditions and fish behaviour than municipal officials set to implement national laws, Mar argued successfully that fishermen should be allowed to use *sahid* nets seasonally in designated areas, in locations where there is no damage to seagrass beds and corals. Along the beach in front of his house, where he has always used the net, the bottom is sandy. With the many fishermen who come to his place to fish and store their boats and gears, and the large number of people who join to pull the beach seine to receive a share of the catch, Mar was well-placed to lobby support. A municipal councillor was also important in lobbying for Mar, being his relative and receiving voter-support by Mar, his family and many of his friends.

Such adjustments of national laws through municipal ordinances signal the strength of some *lumad* brokers in negotiating resource regulation. Living in a large kin-based cluster, plus having a wide social network in the locality and connections to some influential personalities in higher places, combined with local knowledge of marine environments, fish behaviour and CRM-discourse, Mar and some other *lumad* brokers have been able to make national laws flexible and have adapted them to legitimate their own patterns of resource use. *Lumad* brokers also lobby to have stricter regulation of what they see as destructive fishing practices, but the outcome of such efforts, in terms of ordinance formulation and enforcement, may depend, as I have just shown, on

\(^{205}\) Republic Act 8550 – the Fisheries Code of 1998 – prohibits the use of active gear with fine mesh nets.
cooperation across lumad factions within a neighbourhood, as well as on wider, inter-neighbourhood lobbying for the same policy. Cooperative success on these matters is reduced by the retaliation politics and faction-making by municipal leaders.

In cases where Mar and other lumad brokers had not been able to negotiate a compromise solution and were strongly against new laws regulating their fishing practices, they refused to participate, ignored legislation and sought alliances with politicians who seemed to be more supportive of their point of view.\textsuperscript{206} They were not particularly afraid of retaliation politics. This may be one reason why municipal officials tasked with the job of enrolling fishermen into government programs refer to some of the neighbourhood leaders as gahi ug ulo (hard headed), understood as a kind of stubbornness, with a desire to remain in the past, uncivilised people who obstruct plans to ‘improve’ the area. Hard-headedness is a character trait which is seen to be linked to a lack of formal education. That fishermen have little formal education is used by municipal government officials and cosmopolitans to claim superiority in knowing what regulatory measures and development programs have urgency. Neighbourhood lider like Mar are not particularly insulted by such claims. In the run-up to the election in 2007, Erwin Polido, another neighbourhood lider in Talak, put up a large poster to show his support for the challenger of the incumbent mayor. Everybody knew that the challenger was weak and would not win the election. By showing himself as brave and not fearing retaliation, Erwin’s prestige as a courageous lider may have been strengthened. In another context, Erwin said: “Even if I only have grade four, I know the procedures, how to do it. I’m not afraid (dili mahadluk) to go after illegal fishers.” He suggested that despite him being a fisherman with little formal education, he still had the knowledge, courage, authority and power to exert influence over local resource use in the area where he lived.

\textsuperscript{206} The mayor who won in 2001, 2003 and 2007 was by fishermen said to have less interest in marine protection than the previous mayor and vice-mayor. The new vice-mayor after the 2007 election, Diputado, was the son of a fisherman and many coastal dwellers voted for him instead of the mayor’s partner-candidate for vice-mayor.
Leaders of fishermen’s associations use the language of coastal resource management both to claim authority in the local fishing community and to criticise the lack of action and misguided policies of government officials, “the agriculturalists at the municipal.” 

*Lumad* fishermen invoked this distinction as a sign of distrust in the willingness of government officials to help small-timers improve their livelihoods by preventing rampant illegal commercial fishing in municipal waters, but also to highlight a difference in interests and priorities in resource regulation, especially as they were displayed in new ordinances. These differences came to light in responses to the municipal government’s new registration, license and permit fee system for all small-scale fishermen.

**The new license and permit fee system**

“The program is not working here. There are only few fish for us to catch. It’s not like in other places, like Apo and Dauin. They have so much fish because they are very strict with the municipal ordinance. If we go there to fish we will get arrested. Only people from their municipality are allowed to fish in their place.”

As suggested in the quote, Jun Oloriz Jr., despite having been sacked as a *bantay dagat*, supported the policy of the government to register all fishermen and boats operating within the territorial waters of Sibulan. He believed it was necessary to regulate access to improve fish catch, and he was of the opinion that fishermen from Sibulan, “the people here,” should be given special access privileges as a result of their residential status and protection work. While he protested several elements of the new registration, licensing and permit fee ordinance, he argued for a kind of municipal common-property regime that would limit the access of outsiders, people ‘not from here,’ and prevent intruding commercial fishing boats from operating in “our place.” The municipal government, despite the strong critique of its CRM record, had found some support amongst neighbourhood *iders* on this issue. Yet there were important differences in perception among municipal councillors and *lumad* brokers of what needed to be done
most urgently, as well as strong critique by the latter on the process through which new ordinances were formulated and implemented.

'Public hearing,' 'community consultation' or 'information drive'?
Amio Beach, February 2006. Just before 1pm, five officials from the municipal government showed up in force, including the chief of police of Sibulan, to what had been announced as a ‘public hearing’ on the new registration, license and permit fee regulations. The meeting took place outside the house of the local leader of ASFA, Jun Oloriz Jr. Believing many people would attend, the officials had brought a loudspeaker. When the clock passed 1.30pm, the meeting was still not underway. Only eight fishermen were present. One man went to get more fishermen. After another fifteen minutes, five more fishermen arrived. With less than a quarter of the fishermen living in the area present, the meeting began. After the obligatory prayer and the singing of the national anthem, the government officials took turns, telling the audience about the background and importance of the new law. The first speaker began by expressing his concern for and knowledge of the difficult livelihood situation (pangit ang panginabuhi) of the fishermen who struggle everyday to get enough fish to feed their families. He then linked the decline in fish catch to the many fishermen who come to Sibulan from other places. The purpose of the new ordinance, the speaker explained, was to enable “proper management of our coastal resources.”

Another government official, from the Fishery Development and CRM section of the Municipal Agriculture Office, reminded the audience that the municipality of Sibulan has jurisdiction over sea halfway into the Tannon Strait, as stated in the Local Government Code of 1991 (RA 7160). He referred to RA8550, the Fisheries Code of the Philippines, and said the new ordinance requiring all fishermen to register with the municipal government is in accordance with national law. The official then traced the history leading up to the passing of the ordinance, saying a series of community consultations and hearings had taken place since 2003 and that this last ‘information drive’ was held to inform the fishers of the new law. From now on, fishermen would
have to register their boats and fishing gear and pay the required fees to obtain the necessary licenses and permits to fish in Sibulan. The head of police then reminded the audience that “we are all law-abiding citizens in Sibulan.”

In response, Jun pointed out that they use “ang mga classes panagat” (many different gear types in their fishing) and suggested that it would be practically impossible to register all of these. It would be enough to register the boats and perhaps larger fishing nets and fish traps, he suggested, knowing that the vast majority of fishermen in Amio, including himself, use handline techniques. He suggested that to force fishermen to register all handline equipment serves no purpose since this kind of fishing is environmentally friendly compared to other methods. He also said it would be impossible to enforce such a law with only nine bantay dagat for the whole municipality. Another fisherman pointed out that many Sibulan fishermen take their boats on fishing trips to several municipalities, both in the province of Negros Oriental (Sibulan, Dumaguete, San Jose) and across the Tanon Strait, to the province of Cebu (Santander, Oslob). If all of these municipalities implement and begin to enforce a similar system of registration of resident and non-resident fishermen, there would be many fees to pay.207 Another fisherman asked if more bantay dagat would be hired by the municipal government to enforce the new law. The head of police responded that “we all have to help out.”

Several fishermen were surprised at what they heard. They thought this was supposed to be a ‘public hearing’ where they would be given the opportunity to give feedback on and influence the formulation of the new ordinance. As a member of MFARMC, Jun had seen drafted proposals of the ordinance, but he too was surprised that this was the final version. One fisherman, growing increasingly sceptical of what he heard, said to

207 According to RA 8550, the mayors of adjacent municipalities have to sign a Memorandum of Agreement granting reciprocal access. The Municipality of Sibulan had passed an ordinance saying that non-resident fishers had to pay higher fees than resident fishers.
me (as I was sitting next to him): “We pay and pay. What will happen to the small-time fishers here?”

Referred to sarcastically by fishermen in Sibulan as the “good news guy,” Raymond, one of the government official who was in charge of the municipal fisheries sector, countered the critique by emphasising the expected positive effects of the new ordinance. He used the example of palangre and kurantay fishers coming from Tanjay: “They will no longer be allowed in Sibulan waters.” He used examples of outside fishermen who use techniques Sibulan fishers are not practicing or have lobbied to ban. Raymond and other government officials drew a boundary between insiders and outsiders, using registered residential fishers to be part of the municipal community. His point was that the new ordinance will help Sibulan fishers. Without such a registration scheme, outsiders – langyaw – will continue to fish in “our place.” He also said that those who have not attended the public hearings cannot now come and complain about the new ordinance. According to Raymond, those who were invited but did not attend “have no say.”

According to the new ordinance, to become a law-abiding fisher of Sibulan, a “special mayor’s permit” has to be obtained. In addition, fishermen have to pay fees for all the different gear types and boats they use. The new law has been formulated in such a way that small-scale fishermen have to register as a self-owned business enterprise. This has not been well received, as it requires fishers to get a sanitary permit, medical certificate, police clearance, tax clearance, fire safety certificate and to pay a garbage fee. Upon paying 400 pesos in fees for ‘multiple handline fishing’ with a non-motorised boat and

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208 Palangre is a long line with many hooks and manolsog as bait fish, typically set close to the bottom of the sea.

209 Kurantay is a single net, nylon thread, a type of fishing requiring a somewhat larger motorised pamboat. The net can be more than a kilometre long. The net is about 8 meters wide. Two to three men can operate the equipment and catch up to 15 coolers (each weighing 40-50 kg) of mackerel and round scads. Fishers using this kind of net in Sibulan come mostly from Tanjay and Dumaguete.
two small fish traps (*bobo*), one fisherman complained: “This is not pro-poor.” Another fisherman said: “This is not a business. This is livelihood.” Small-scale fishers in Sibulan invoke a class distinction here. They differentiate themselves from businessmen. Businessmen are rich; they are not. They fish not to become rich, but to feed their families. The municipal government apply the same set of standardised rules to small-scale fishers as they do to other occupational categories. Being self-employed, the argument goes, they are owners of their own business. By defining fishers as a formal occupational category, the municipal government looks to integrate wider coastal populations into formal sectors of the economy, as registered, enterprising, law-abiding, tax-paying citizens. This echoes what has been stated as a goal in the agricultural sector, where governing elites want to turn farmers, in particular agrarian reform beneficiaries, into ‘agribusiness entrepreneurs.’\(^{210}\) There is a call for subsistence folks to become different kinds of locals – business owners, marine park workers and tourist guides who have proper documentation (work permits) and pay taxes.

Heads of fishermen’s associations in Sibulan were strongly opposed to the new registration and permit fee scheme designed by the “agriculturalists at the municipal.” They were not opposed to a registration system *per se*. They, too, wanted to restrict the fishing of outsiders in Sibulan, but found the scheme to be poorly thought through. In May 2007, more than one year after the ‘information drive’ took place, I estimated that less than 15 per cent of Sibulan fishers had registered and paid the fees.

The local government unit of Sibulan has been good at formulating regulations and ordinances in accordance with national policy guidelines and laws. New ordinances are expediently passed by the municipal council. But the so-called information drives and public hearings do not attract many fishermen and other residents. Given the climate of resentment after the retaliation politics against several members of the group of ‘original

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\(^{210}\) The National Economic Development Authority states that agrarian reform is not only about the physical transfer of assets, but must be accompanied by a “comprehensive human resource development package to support the transformation of the former tenants and farm workers into entrepreneurs who will engage in both farm and non-farm enterprises” (NEDA 2001: chapter 8, p. 2).
"bantay dagat," it was not easy for government officials to mobilise support for its registration and license system.

While some of the laws regulating municipal waters may be poorly designed and lack systematic enforcement, lumad fishermen have so far not been particularly vulnerable to these policies. They have been able to continue to practise most of their own fishing practices. At the same time, the heads of local fishermen's associations and other men who were centrally involved in CRM training during the 1990s believe stricter regulation is needed. They know very well that in near-shore waters in this peri-urban location, a large, relatively cooperative bantay dagat organisation with solid support from the municipal government and other external law-enforcement agencies is needed.

When government officials try to tax small-scale fishers as self-employed business owners, given the rampant practise of illegal commercial fishing, they meet resistance. Much attention in marine regulation has focused on small-scale fishing and the protection of coral reefs. When it comes to commercial fishing inside municipal waters, the priorities of governing elites in resource regulation are revealed as hypocritical. Neighbourhood lider among small-scale fishers emphasise this lack of sincerity among elites, those who say they want to help the poor but at the same time allow continued operation of commercial vessels inside municipal waters.\footnote{Compared to small-scale fishers, it looks like it is easier to tax or alternatively bribe commercial fishing boats to such an extent that enough government officials keep quiet and downplay the problem caused by such fishing.}

**Conclusion**

The exercise in devolution of power to local governments and the consequent focus on participatory development in marine resource regulation have, as Terrence R. George writes in an assessment of the effects the institutionalization of the role of NGOs, "added to the complex interplay of law and custom, clan and community obligation, and patronage and resistance that have long characterized local politics" (1998: 224).
In discourses on the environment and community – in the view of what needs to be done to tackle the problems of a declining marine resource base and secure fisherfolks’ livelihoods – significant class differences are at play. At the municipal level, government officials and the cosmopolitan lobbyists who seek to influence them tend to focus on ‘improvement’ of the coastal zone, typically meaning to build infrastructure, undertake coastal cleanups, protect coral reefs and their associated marine species (many very colourful and exotic looking) for dive tourism, implement more effective forms of control over coastal populations and settlements, and institute a property system of clearly defined individual ownership. To understand a central aspect of what it is that is being contested in this coastal location, development and regulation of land and sea resources have to be seen together. Such a land-sea perspective motivates a shift in focus, away from a narrow marine ecology perspective. New questions surface: have the MPAs, established in 1999, made it easier to think of place in a certain way, a place for leisure and recreational activities, with beach resorts and property developments? Increased demand for beachfront lots and housing can result in a stronger ‘squatter’ status for already marginalised groups. The majority of people living on the beach do not have legal title to the land they live on and many have constructed houses without building permits. Attention is defused and evaded from more difficult and, to many poorer coastal dwellers, more important issues relating to coastal land tenure insecurity and rampant illegal commercial fishing. It may be the case that the establishment of small MPAs and regulation of specific fishing practices are preferred development interventions because they are less risky projects, both for donor agencies, project managers and local politicians, compared to the arguably much more complex issue over coastal land tenure.

The strong-felt experience and perception among small-scale fishers of class-bias and preferential treatment for the rich in coastal land and marine regulation is not a surprising finding. Nor is it surprising that retaliation and patronage politics linked to elections weaken cooperation among the ‘original bantay dagat.’ The resulting
slackening off of the intensity of enforcement of new legislation within the municipal fisheries sector has not meant that there is no regulation, however. Although existing laws are generally weakly enforced, some categories of resource users are more likely to be apprehended and fined for illegal activities than others.

The many development projects aimed at improving the quality of the marine environments and fisherfolks’ livelihoods during the 1990s and the consequent institutionalisation of CRM in local government units have brought about an effective ban of some resource extraction methods. These efforts have also altered the views of some coastal dwellers on what practices are environmentally friendly and which ones are causing harm.\textsuperscript{212} Above all, there are fishers in Sibulan who have been involved in the CRM-regulations for almost two decades who continue to have a keen interest in finding solutions to the problems they face in relation to marine habitat destruction and overfishing.

While the establishment of MPAs could potentially have given all the local small-scale fishers some help in defending a right to live on the beach, it was neighbourhood \textit{liders} who were courted to become stakeholders in the protection of coral reefs and reef-associated species. Meetings with extension workers from the municipal and provincial government units took place outside the houses of these local leaders. The \textit{lumad} small-

\textsuperscript{212} The former practice of breaking off and selling corals for ornamentation has stopped. The MPAs have protected corals and other marine habitats (but may have increased the destruction of corals outside the MPAs). Dynamite and poison fishing have been effectively banned in Sibulan, as have compressor fishing (often associated with poison fishing). Mangrove forests that used to be cut down to make fishponds are now generally seen to have great environmental value (although no reforestation programs have been pushed). Fishers do not target marine mammals. A partial ban on \textit{sahid} (beach seine) fishing with fine mesh nets is in place.

The MPAs of Sibulan looks to be ‘leaking.’ In 2006, the DENR representatives from the provincial government in Dumaguete evaluated the inside of the two MPAs in Sibulan and found that the corals were doing great, but that there was very little fish inside them. Three fish traps were discovered inside one of the MPAs. Divers with scuba tanks and spearguns have also been observed at night time. It takes resources to prevent MPAs from leaking. Arguably, monitoring activities are more difficult to perform in a peri-urban coastal setting with diverse groups of resource users than what has been the case on Apo Island, a small island located thirty minutes by boat from the south-eastern coast of Negros famous for its well-protected marine life and as an attractive dive site.
scale fishers have organised into fishermen's associations and received extra-local recognition for their precarious livelihood situation. In Amio, new neighbourhood *liders* emerged in a fishing community that was previously focussed on expanding their areas of fishing by becoming *langyaw*. With declining fish catch and new externally funded CRM-projects, neighbourhood *liders* and their close allies became centrally involved in nearshore regulations of marine resource use, seeking to incorporate, contest and transform externally designed models of marine protection and at the same time link themselves more firmly to place as *lumad*. They have used this opportunity to engage municipal and barangay leaders to re-negotiate and help make ‘flexible’ the application of various ordinances and laws, to make them more accommodating to circumstances in the locality. They also called for expansion of the MPAs to prevent further coral destruction, wanted to have more *bantay dagat* positions and a stricter enforcement of some laws.

Focus on the poverty and marginality of small-scale fisher folks was given a boost in the heyday of coastal resource management. For good reasons, this discourse has continued to circulate and *liders* of fishermen’s associations take government officials to task for their priorities and inaction on matters of great concern to these fishermen. If not interpreted by all groups of resource users as being only motivated by ‘elite interests,’ government policies to protect coastal and marine resources are frequently seen as being manipulated by local and regional elite figures. Small-scale fishers have fresh in their minds long lists of special treatment for the rich.213 At the same time, they have been given some space for lobbying issues they are concerned with. In voicing their criticism against the inaction and misguided policies of some government officials, local *liders* re-confirm and consolidate their position as persons of authority in matters pertaining to marine regulations in their own neighbourhoods.

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213 Three examples of class-based privilege are: 1) commercial fishing boats continued to operate within municipal waters; 2) a resort owner with police friends was allowed to quarry sand from the beach and use this to make cement and extend the property of the resort into the sea with a seawall; 3) the owner of the fishpond was allowed to use some kind of chemical to ‘clean up’ the bottom of the pond two times per year, killing off fish fry and other sensitive marine life in the nearby area.
Instead of bringing small-scale fishermen together across kin and clan lines in a stronger unity, one where natural resource management serves as a basis for organising small-scale fishermen, lumad brokers were caught in divisive mayoral politics. This was one factor which prevented the formation of wider-reaching cooperation on regulatory policies and weakened the capacity for enforcement of illegal fishing and gleaning techniques. This hampered the ability of the ‘original bantay dagat’ to lobby more forcefully against fishing practices where they have common interests, for example to have the ban on commercial fishing within municipal waters and construction of seawalls into the intertidal zone enforced, or to prevent further coral destruction from kapinan collectors. Vertical links to external power-holders affect patterns of cooperation and conflict in community affairs. I nonetheless argue that a central aspect of neighbourhood leaders’ and lumad brokers’ source of authority and power continue to be firmly embedded in ongoing, multiplex relationships in the neighbourhood, as outlined in Chapter Four.

While retaliation politics against non-supporters of the victorious mayoral candidate led or contributed to a division in several neighbourhoods, leaders on both sides excluded langyaw and local ‘mode 3’ fishermen from participation in policy formation. Given the history of settlement and community formation outlined in this dissertation, there is one obvious weakness with the patron-client factional model: It takes more than voting support for a victorious political candidate to obtain recognition as a legitimate resident of the place and receive protection and help in times of conflict. The family group of Ed did vote for the mayor at the 2004 and 2007 elections. But Ed, being poor, having a dili taga dinhi status, and being a member of a family group considered to be relatively weak, did not expect the mayor of Sibulan to intervene to help him avoid paying the 2000 pesos fine. It is the localised kin-groups’ strength rather than voter allegiance that seems to be the more significant factor in structuring the pattern of regulation of the small-scale fisheries sector. While mayoral politics is an important factor in defining or accentuating splits in lumad groups, it does not replace lumad authority.
Ed and his family in Amio, along with other groups with weaker links to lumad brokers, have been excluded from participation and have become more vulnerable to state-sanctioned formalisation and enforcement of CRM. Today, both migrant fishers and poor newcomers are in more and more contexts defined as squatters, intruders and trespassers by state agencies, governing elites and property investors. Also the opinions of lumad leaders within local communities, such as municipal bantay dagats and heads of fisherman's associations, contribute to such negative stereotyping. Non-lumad fishermen are unable to use their status as mananagat to claim authority and full membership of local fishing communities. In this context, the threats to the environment as perceived among participants in a transnational discourse of coastal environmental protection, a discourse which has become pervasive in Negros Oriental, and the idea of regulation this discourse inspires contributes to a stronger "politics of exclusion" (Zerner 2000: 11). Instead of 'fisher folks' forging a stronger common identity, the coastal and marine regulatory regime sponsored by external donors and expert societies is speeding up a process of social exclusion already underway: the exclusion of poorer newcomers and non-kin to the advantage of closer kin linked to well-established lumad families.
Chapter Nine: Cosmopolitanism and localism

People’s lives on Negros have long been linked to world markets and mass mediated forms of communication. A more multiplex pattern of educational investments, labour migration, media use, commodity trade and financial transactions have emerged in recent times. It is in this context that coastal dwelling families in Sibulan carve out space, obtain knowledge and develop relationships and livelihoods which allow for localised, place-based living. But have the commodification of beaches and increased cosmopolitan pressures undermined the conditions for constructing local communities of any real significance?

Cosmopolitan pressures

In “Weapons of the Weak” (1985), James C. Scott describes for Malaysian rice farmers a broad-based general decline in institutions of reciprocity, subsistence, and locally driven change as villagers become increasingly dependent upon urban markets, capitalist modes of production, political patronage and bureaucratic administration. Given the broader political-economic context under which many neighbourhoods have formed on Negros Island, the same transformation can be seen there. Massive inequalities in the distribution of land, wealth and political power were institutionalised on many levels during the period of rapid expansion of export agriculture. Displacement pressure and declining opportunities in agriculture were key factors behind the formation of coastal settlements. Many continue to live under difficult socio-economic conditions and have found very limited opportunities for upward social mobility outside of localist realms. Many beach dwellers continue to face strong fragmentation and displacement pressures in conflicts over land.

The growing cosmopolitan influences in the coastal zone, reflected in beachfront property developments and in government priorities in Coastal Resource Management (CRM), may look to undermine the conditions for the construction of neighbourhood communities of any real vigour. In terms of actual design and policy formation with
regard to coastal space, the municipal government elites have focussed mostly on ways to increase government revenues and the beachfront property market. They have encouraged upscale residential projects and at the same time sought to control and tax small-scale producers and traders through an elaborate system of permits, licenses and fees. Apart from the stated goal of protecting nature and sustaining fishing livelihoods, the establishment of MPAs over the most pristine-looking coral reefs are meant to make places attractive for tourists and other groups of people who like ocean view, beach leisure, snorkelling and recreational diving. Real estate investors and resort and beach house owners stand to benefit from the marketing value that lies in having attractive reefs nearby. They seek to develop the beachfront property market by instituting a clearly defined system of individual ownership. Such a coastal land tenure regime is said to attract investments, promote tourism, create jobs and improve the overall economy. Commodification of beaches, however, brings increased displacement and fragmentation pressure and growing inequality among villagers.

While the polarisation of society into a rich/poor structure is pronounced on Negros Island and elsewhere in the Philippines, many authors have also documented increasing complexity and diversification in livelihoods, as well as a multitude of social categories within local communities. As more people study longer or commute to work in Dumaguete and enter into middle-class positions, and as a diverse group of people buy beachfront properties for recreation and ocean view residence, there is a proliferation of different categories of people who come together in a small geographical area. At one level, the residential status distinctions and social landscape in coastal Sibulan look to be similar to the one described by Maria Mangahas on Samal Island, just outside Davao City, Mindanao (2004). She discovered different kinds of narratives of people-place relationships which compete and overlap, a social landscape peopled by different kinds of settlers, newcomers and ‘natives,’ as well as absentee title holders, real estate investors, government officials and visitors. Samal Island social construction, according to Mangahas, “allows for divergent identities to be actively delineated and improvised” (ibid.: 38). There is “great dynamism,” with “people appropriating and shifting between
categories" (ibid.: 39). This post-modern emphasis on unstable, flexible categories and a multiplicity of voices adds complexity and dynamism to the analysis of local community relations. However, a scrutiny of land tenure, livelihoods and residential and local political status of settler groups in Sibulan shows that the fluidity and flexibility of some categories have declined. Despite increased differentiation, heterogeneity and fragmentation in the larger society, there is a strong process of consolidation of relationships and status within neighbourhoods.

Consolidation of localism
The consolidation of power within neighbourhoods occurs in important ways through what I refer to as ‘clan’-formations. Instead of becoming more individualised, many coastal dwellers in Sibulan have reinforced their attachment to land and to each other. Apart from economic and residential security, coastal dwellers find in place-based communities resources for livelihood strategies and space for developing relationships, local knowledge, and emotional attachment to family and home. They draw strength from being part of the same family, from their large number, from having common interests in livelihood and land, and from having longstanding relationships and intimate knowledge of each other. In some contexts, political, economic, kinship and territorial boundaries merge to create relatively robust and flexible negotiating groups beyond the immediate family. As markets for fresh seafoods and cosmopolitan interests in the coastal zone have expanded, place-based communities of lumad families have become more pronounced. These groupings look to be more prevalent under conditions of modernity than what is suggested in current literature on the consequences of global modernity.

One could explain why such social formations are pervasive by saying that the Philippines is a country which is imperfectly modern, reflected in the continuing importance of personalised ties in economic affairs, the capturing of state institutions by elites, pervasive cronyism and corruption, and insufficient separation between state and religious institutions (Kahn 2001). The lack of trust or admiration for government
officials and the legal establishment is a sign that modernity in Giddens’ sense is weakly developed. Many have a strong sense of living in a corrupt state and impartial state institutions have arguably remained weakly developed throughout the twentieth century. The government’s failure to deliver on its promise of broad-based, equitable development has resulted in a situation where many political elites have little support at the local level. The dis-embedding forces of modernity are not matched by equally strong re-embedding institutions of a modern kind. People thus remain attached to and dependent upon their traditional institutions. However, I suggest that Giddens’ definition of modernity is too narrow (even for many contexts in the ‘West’). His framework does not fully see localism to be an important characteristic of modernity. Giddens juxtaposes an image of a pre-modern peasant community which is inward-looking and conservative against a much more dynamic and self-reflexive modern society. While Giddens is right in arguing that local life is influenced by complex interactions across regions and socio-cultural divides, and Appadurai’s concept of a translocal ‘community of sentiment’ is potentially useful in an analysis of some categories of people who have an interest in coastal Sibulan, the way in which local institutions develop and evolve to negotiate and regulate social relationships has to be seen in relation to histories of settlement, land tenure and work, and the kinds of attachments people have to kin, place and local community.

**Reconstruction of localism**

The spatial configuration of kin-based house groups within neighbourhoods reveals patterns of appropriation of land and other resources which could be interpreted to reflect an ‘indigenous mode’ of organising local affairs, a set of internalized processes that are operative at deeper levels of habitus and have survived relatively unchanged through centuries of colonialism and capitalist modernity. Marshall Sahlins (1999) points to several examples of indigenous groups who have had intimate and longstanding experiences of modernity whose patterns of distribution and ownership, organisation of production, kinship and community bonds, and relationship to nature and religion has not been affected. He refers to this phenomenon as the “resistance of
culture": “the greater a person’s or family’s successes in the money economy, the more they participate in the indigenous order” (1999: xvii). I do not develop such an argument. Sahlins, operating with stable cultural forms, does not give a satisfactory account of the social effects of differentiation and emerging cosmopolitan orientations within the indigenous category.

I have described an ongoing process of place-based community formation which produces ‘continuity’ in people-place relations, a continuity which is constructed and maintained in ongoing relationships and an ‘original people of the place’ discourse. While localists are centrally focussed on forging place-based relationships and like to spend time on and around their house lots and in the proximate neighbourhood, they interact with a much wider social field to recreate new forms of localism, reflecting deliberate strategies, desires and commitments, and the kind of resources they are able to mobilise to construct such forms. These strategies and desires are themselves adjusted and transformed as a result of these interactions. In Amio and Minaba, localism was in the past constructed to a significant extent around sugarcane plantations and mills, but also through an interaction with langyaw fishermen and expanding markets for fresh seafoods. Today, beach house owners, coastal resource management specialists and beachfront property developers are taking a strong interest in this area. Lumads have drawn on state and rich newcomer resources to realise both cosmopolitan and localist aspirations. The relationships and negotiations between localists and cosmopolitans (some of whom are previous localists who have separated themselves from the extended family in the neighbourhood) illustrate that the kind of place-based community which is now being forged is not the same one which existed in the past. It is not the reproduction of the same local “indigenous order.”

**Localism and cosmopolitanism within the family**

A fuller understanding of ‘continuity’ in the ongoing process of place-based community formation emerges from a closer examination of how localism and cosmopolitanism is part of the family. The seemingly contradictory principles and worldviews of localists
and cosmopolitans are often experienced and resolved within the same house group and household as much as they are brokered with ‘outsiders.’ Cosmopolitan and localist attitudes can also exist within the same person and be context dependent. Those who embark on outwardly mobile ‘projects’ and play with and explore cosmopolitan pathways are often encouraged by and continue to find stability to their life by maintaining relationships with localist family members, such as parents and siblings back in their place of origin. Most parents who are able to invest in higher education for some or all of their children will do so. These families are often already part of better-off segments of lumad families. They hope that their children will find well-paying jobs, or be able to use their educational status to marry up. Investment in higher education is likely to lead to an increase in cosmopolitan orientations and a separation of individuals and households from ongoing, multiplex relationship in the neighbourhood. Although some previous influential leaders and/or members of their families separate themselves from intimate involvement in place-based community affairs, new local-level mediators and leaders emerge from the ranks of lumad house groups and many members of somewhat better-off families continue to develop strong commitment to localism. Remittances from a cosmopolitan daughter overseas can help facilitate desired forms of place-based living. Families and households are thus constructed with an eye to both localist and cosmopolitan concerns.

Parents understand why their daughter is not going to be happy marrying a fisherman. They also understand why a son may want to become a fisherman and find status within a neighbourhood context. It is problematic to assume that small-scale fishing is a ‘transitional phenomenon’ or ‘employment of last resort.’ Young men who have taken some college courses and tried out a few opportunities elsewhere have returned back home and taken up fishing after marriage, not all of them because they had no other choice. They want to stay close to family and friends in the neighbourhood and are constantly re-assessing the value of localism within a new frame of reference.
State - localist interaction

Many researchers find significant “disjuncture between the claims over resources that local peoples are making and the rights to those same resources that state institutions are willing to recognise” (Atkinson 2003: 235). A closer look at the ‘barangay people’ and the ‘local community’ concept is needed to understand patterns of strictness and flexibility in the application of law in relation to claims to land and other resources. Coastal dwellers without Torrens title, foreshore lease and/or building permits draw on many non-formal strings and resources to secure tenure. The specific approach they take depends on a range of factors within the local community and their perception of what is accepted in the wider society. While ‘the state’ is, in principle, ignorant of lumad status and says anyone who registers their house lots and fishing gear and behaves lawfully can live along the shoreline and use marine resources, local level government officials rely on lumad brokers and lideras among larger, influential families living along the coastline to administer the area. As with the residents of low-income urban Javanese kampung, coastal dwellers in Sibulan define rights to land and reconstruct and develop local institutional authority not only “in relation to, but also in addition to, the formal procedures laid down by outside authorities” (Guinness 2009: 67).

In the post-Marcos era of 'participatory development' there are new sites of negotiation, over the foreshore, over rights to the beach and to marine resources. Local governments, who have assumed much of the responsibility for managing coastal and marine resources (through the Local Government Code of 1991 and the Fisheries Code of 1998), and those in charge of nationally and internationally funded projects call for a participatory approach to resource regulation. This has added to the growing importance of lumad status and leadership within small-scale fishing communities. Neighbourhood lideras and some other members of local fishermen’s associations linked to lumad families in coastal Sibulan were invited to become key stakeholders in the new community-based CRM system. This reflects the view that participatory approaches to resource management are valuable because they are more democratic and effective in terms of achieving long-term, sustainable outcomes than top-down approaches. Various
government and non-government agencies seek to build partnerships with and involve local communities in the design, monitoring and enforcement of new regulations. ‘Community organising’ is high on the agenda. Not surprisingly, CRM practitioners and local government officials (and anthropologists\textsuperscript{214}) end up working primarily with fishermen from families with \textit{lumad} status. Through training seminars, formation of government registered fishermen’s associations and the establishment of a municipal \textit{bantay dagat} team, these fishermen and other members of their families monopolise positions in the more influential local institutions. They use the opportunity of ‘participatory development’ to define themselves to place as \textit{lumad}.

**Redefining local boundaries**

Local origin and newcomer narratives, Sandra Pannell (2006) points out, must be interpreted within a broader historical and socio-political context. It is in dialectical engagement with other historically-specific discourses and, I might add, a wider-reaching set of transformative practises, that the legitimating potential of local origin narratives take shape and gather force (Pannell 2006: 219). Discourses of primordialism are encouraged by increased cosmopolitan influences in the coastal zone. Neighbourhoods, \textit{lumad} status and identity as \textit{mananagat} have taken on new significance in recent times. The increased orientation of cosmopolitans to coastal space and the CRM discourse they bring with them provides an important context for understanding why the \textit{lumad/langyaw} distinction has become increasingly employed as a mechanism of exclusion rather than incorporation. Declining availability of marine resources and the growing number of people who use them to make a living is, of course, also relevant. To be labelled migrant is not always a serious insult. Migrants are oftentimes seen as a resource. They bring with them skills and social networks, can be a source of labour and potential marriage partners, or become the supporters of a local leader seeking to build up a following. Under current conditions, instead of a blurring of the distinction between early settlers and newcomers over time, the opposite seems to be

\textsuperscript{214} It took some time before I was able to realise the extent to which I had been ‘captured’ by \textit{lumad} broker families, and I continue to ponder the effects this has had on data collection and interpretation.
the case. *Lumad* families apply a stricter definition of what it takes to be a full member of neighbourhood communities, to some extent drawing on state and rich newcomer resources to realise *lumad* versions of localism.

Local government officials play a role in instigating discrimination along these lines. The example of the court case in Minaba and the meeting between municipal government officials and the local fishing community of Amio both illustrate how some government officials try to lobby local support for particular projects and policies by invoking an insider/outside distinction. In doing so, they are at the same time lending support to the idea that *lumads* have a superior claim to land and leadership. When coastal dwellers are asked to present kinship charts as evidence in court, *lumads* link themselves to ancestors who are listed as owners of land on old tax declarations and other documents which are accepted as proof of continuous and long possession. Both formal and informal models place a value on long-term possession. *Langyaw*, marginalised both within a customary rights discourse and within a state promoted discourse of property law, live with a much higher degree of residential land tenure insecurity today than only a few decades ago. ‘Poor newcomers’ are finding it increasingly difficult to establish themselves as full members, instead being pushed into practices recognised as illegal. As marine resources have declined, the shoreline become re-valued as an attractive residential and recreational site, migrant fishers and poor newcomers have increasingly become defined in negative terms, as squatters, intruders and trespassers.

The changing relationship between *lumad* and *langyaw* is partly an outcome of the reorientation among *lumad* brokers to nurture relationships with ‘rich newcomers.’ They are much less focussed on acting as hosts to migrant fishers and other ‘poor newcomers’ today than they were some decades ago. *Langyaw*, too, nurture relationships with rich and well-off people, but mostly with employers and brokers outside of neighbourhood communities. They are in a much weaker position to exploit relationships with
cosmopolitans and government officials to alter their residential status and obtain wider support for their claim that “this is our place.”

**Conclusion**

Instead of assuming that communities of a local kind fragment and localism necessarily loses significance under conditions of global modernity, cosmopolitanism and localism mutually constitute each other. The analysis of how they inter-relate under changing conditions brings out differences in the valuation and prestige of small-scale fishing, place-based forms of living, and the significance of the distinction between early settlers and newcomers. Both the early settler/newcomer distinction and social differentiation in terms of wealth, occupation and education are highly relevant information for understanding how people associate with place and with each other, and for learning about the social conditions under which localism is realised and cosmopolitan orientations take shape. It is from such a perspective I have analysed variability in people’s attachment to family and their place of origin and in their status within place-based communities. Although there is a diverse group of people who have an interest in coastal Sibulan, there is also consolidation of relationships and practices in geographically limited areas, kin-based clustering of houses and the formation of strong attachments to neighbourhoods. Reconstructed and new forms of localism take shape through engagement and articulation with capitalist modernity, cosmopolitan orientations and the state formation projects of governing elites. These are the contemporary social formations that are both local and cosmopolitan.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASFA</td>
<td>Amio Small-scale Fishermen’s Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUS $</td>
<td>Australian dollar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BFAR</td>
<td>Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB-CRM</td>
<td>Community-based Coastal Resource Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEMRINO</td>
<td>Centre for Establishment of Marine Reserves in Negros Oriental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENRO</td>
<td>Community Environment and Natural Resources Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRM</td>
<td>Coastal Resource Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DENR</td>
<td>Department of Environment and Natural Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIL-AM</td>
<td>Philippine-American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIL-EU</td>
<td>Philippine-European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLA</td>
<td>Foreshore Lease Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGU</td>
<td>Local Government Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFARMC</td>
<td>Municipal Fisheries and Aquatic Resource Management Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPA</td>
<td>Marine Protected Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTC</td>
<td>Municipal Trial Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAO</td>
<td>Public Attorney’s Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Republic Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC</td>
<td>Regional Trial Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCUBA</td>
<td>Self-contained underwater breathing apparatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US $</td>
<td>United States dollar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WWII</td>
<td>World War Two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glossary

Agalon  Boss, employer, master
Amihan  North-eastern wind (November to March)
Anak  Child
Angga  Nickname
Bag-ong niabot  Newcomer
Balay  House
Balo  Widow/widower
Banay  Family
Bangka  Dugout outrigger canoe, non-motorised (large)
Bangus  Milkfish
Bantay dagat  Sea warden
Barangay  ‘Village’ – the smallest state-administrative division in the Philippines
Barkada  Group of coeval friends
Baroto (sakayan)  Dugout outrigger canoe, non-motorised (small)
Bay-bay  Beach
Bobo  Fish trap
Bungsod  Fish corral
Compadrazgo  Ritual co-parenthood
Comprador  Bulk buyer (male)
Compradora  Bulk buyer (female)
Dagat  Sea
Dalaga  Marriageable woman
Datu  Pre-colonial chief
Dili manghatag  Do not want to share
Dili taga dinhi  Not from here
Duma’an  Resident worker (sugarcane)
Encargado  Estate manager
Gahi ug ulo  Hard headed
Ginikanan  Parent
Habagat  South-western wind (June to October)
Hacendero  Plantation owner
Hacienda  Plantation
Hatag ang isda  Fish give-away
Hiya (Tag.)  Shame
Hologton  Sea current going north, when tide is coming in
Ig-agaw  Cousin
Igo-igo  Adequate
Igsoon  Sibling
Isog  Brave
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Istambay</td>
<td>‘Stand-by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabalaka</td>
<td>Anxiety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaliwatan</td>
<td>Clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaluoy</td>
<td>Pity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapinan</td>
<td>Abalone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katabang</td>
<td>House ‘helper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katawhan</td>
<td>People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katilingban</td>
<td>Community, society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katungod</td>
<td>Right, obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauban</td>
<td>Companion, partner, mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauswagan</td>
<td>Improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinilaw</td>
<td>‘Raw’ fish, sashimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komon</td>
<td>‘Commons’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubkob</td>
<td>Purse seine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumpandre</td>
<td>Godfather of one’s child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurripot</td>
<td>Stingy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakad</td>
<td>Period of weak sea currents, when the moon is ‘half full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langyaw</td>
<td>Migrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lechon</td>
<td>Whole-roasted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lider</td>
<td>Neighbourhood leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilo</td>
<td>Eddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lugar</td>
<td>Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumad</td>
<td>The original people of the place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magpaanod sa sulog</td>
<td>Ride the sea current</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managad</td>
<td>Pay attention to others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mananagat</td>
<td>Fisherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manolsog</td>
<td>Round scad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mao ni among lugar</td>
<td>This is our place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masa</td>
<td>The ‘masses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mga katawhan sa katilingban</td>
<td>People of the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muro-ami</td>
<td>Labour-intensive bag-net fishing over coral reefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagtapok nga kabalayan</td>
<td>House group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokos</td>
<td>Squid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pagkabutang sa pag-puyo

Standard of living

Palaliton

Daily needs

Panimalay

Household

Pamboat

Motorised outrigger canoe

Panagat

Fishing

Panginabuhi

Livelihood

Payag-payag

Shed (some rented out to daytime picnickers)

Prenda

Borrow money with property as guarantee.
The lender has the right to earn income from the property

Purok

Hamlet or 'neighbourhood' (part of a barangay)

Sacada

Temporary worker (sugarcane)

Sahid

Beach seine

Sakayan

Boat, referring to baroto in Sibulan

Sari-sari

Mixed goods store

Silingan

Neighbour

Suki

Regular buyer

Sulog

Sea current

Suod nga higala

Close friend

Suplada

Snob, a person who ignores others

Taga dinhi

From here

Tag-iya

Owner

Talab-on

Sea current going south, when tide is going out

Tolongdon

Secret fishing place

Tuba

Coconut wine (fermented coconut sap)

Ultiawo

Marriageable man

Utang

To get on credit (no interest)

Utang kabubut-on

Debt of gratitude

Utang na loob (Tag.)

Debt of gratitude

Walay ulaw

Shameless

Yamador

Caller, door-knocker, messenger, broker

Yuta

Land, soil, homeland
## Appendix A: An overview of the small-scale fishing economy of Sibulan

### Table A-1: Commonly used hook-and-line techniques

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of fishing technique</th>
<th>Basic description of technique</th>
<th>Commonly caught fish Cebuano with English common name in parenthesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pamasiyon</td>
<td>7-15 hooks, shrimp as bait, used on coral reefs, shallow waters</td>
<td>Panapsapan (sweet lip), mad-as (ornate snapper), galot (grouper), small mamsa (jack), katambak (trumpet emperor), dalangdang (fusilier), mol-mol (parrot), tambod (lizard), timbongan (goat), labayan (wras)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasdak</td>
<td>240-320 hooks with rentex (strings of silky cloth) in different colours</td>
<td>Manolsog (round scad), anduhaw (Indian mackerel), tuloy (spotted sardinella), pula ikog (redtail scad), malalangsi (sardine), ihalason (bonito)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taktakon</td>
<td>5-20 hooks, floaters, mackerel or squid as bait, heavy sinker</td>
<td>Mambolaw (jack), mamsa (giant trevally), maya-maya (red snapper), dogso (long faced emperor), iho (shark) balariti (tuna), komnay (snapper), galot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamulatok</td>
<td>1 hook, 250 gram stone tied to palm leaf as sinker, manolsog as bait</td>
<td>Bulatok, rompi, pangalwin, tabangko (barracuda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangundak</td>
<td>25-30 hooks with rentex (mixed green and blue)</td>
<td>Solid (fusilier), anduhaw, bangkulisan (rainbow runner) ('any kind of fish')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangnokos</td>
<td>One artificial shrimp hook, 250 gram stone tied to palm leaf as sinker</td>
<td>Nokos (squid), buko-buko (cuttle fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahawin</td>
<td>One hook (tuna as bait, 1 kg.), no sinker, pamboat at slow speed</td>
<td>Mamsa, tarogho (jack), iho, tangigi (Spanish mackerel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panulawog (tulawog)</td>
<td>1 hook, sardine as bait, small sinker</td>
<td>Lanohan (double-lined mackerel), borak (fusilier), kalamohoy (snapper), bulgan (big eye), dogso, dalangdang, galot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamalayaw</td>
<td>12 hooks, big sinker, shrimp as bait, styrofoam floater</td>
<td>Panapsapan, mad-as, galot, mamsa, katambak, dalangdang, kuyampaw (mantaray), panangitan (eel), banagan (lobster)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamogtaw (pangtulingan)</td>
<td>1 hook with rentex (or Christmas glitter) and a piece of clear plastic around the rentex, no sinker, pamboat</td>
<td>Tulingan, lamogan (small tuna)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Average catch (kg) per month
Adjusted for large sahid catch
n = 8 from August to October 2005
n = 18-24 from November 2005 to August 2006

Average monthly income from fish sold (in pesos)
adjusted for large sahid catch

Figure A-1: Monthly catch (in kg.) and income from fish sold
Table A-2: Number of fishermen and boats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Survey May 2006</th>
<th>Agan-an</th>
<th>Maslog</th>
<th>Cangmating</th>
<th>Sum boats and fishermen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sakayan (baroto)</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangka</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamboat</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum boats</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% motorised</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># fishermen</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 'full-time'</td>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a survey of the field site in May 2006, there were 222 boats docked along the coastline and 174 fishermen. 77.5 per cent of the boats were non-motorised outriggers (164 sakayan/baroto and 8 bangka). Fishing with sakayan is mainly a one-man endeavour.\(^{215}\) The remaining boats were motorised outriggers, most of them equipped with a 5.5 horse powered engine and operated by one fisherman. About one-third of the pamboats were owned and used by part-time or occasional fishers who had some sort of middle-class status, some of them for recreation. There were several part-time and occasional fishers who did not own their own boats and they have not been included in the table. Fishing households that were better off financially tended to have motorised boats. More or less fulltime fishermen who owned motorised boats tended also to own non-motorised boats.

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\(^{215}\) The higher number of boats than fishermen in the table is a result of some fishermen owning more than one boat and that some boats docked along the beach were owned by people living in Dumaguete City, the town of Sibulan and elsewhere. About 10 per cent of the boats in Amio and Talak were owned by outsiders. Around 15 of the 41 outriggers included in ‘sum boats’ for Minaba were not owned by coastal dwellers in that barangay, but were docked there by fishermen living in ‘upper’ Minaba and elsewhere.

In a separate analysis of boats and users in barangay Talak, each sakayan was on average used by 1.3 fishermen on a regular basis.
‘Full-time’ and ‘part-time’ fishermen

A cautionary note on the concepts of a ‘full-time’ and ‘part-time’ fisherman is needed. These concepts are not very accurate. Many were seasonally full-time fishermen and all did other work from time to time. During the ‘lean’ months of November to February more fishermen took up other jobs. Many did some construction work, drove tricycles and worked as carpenters. Men who from time to time fished with the boats of others, as well as the many resource users who came down to the beach with spear guns, a small net, or used their hands to pick various marine products in the shallows or by free-diving have not been counted as fishermen in the table above, nor were they counted as fishermen by government agencies. Most of these resource users did not see themselves as fishermen. The exception was six or seven men who did not own boats but were practising more or less fulltime spear gun fishing. They were known to be excellent divers. Young boys (12-16 years old) who went fishing with their fathers or other fishermen from time to time are also not included as fishermen in the table. Nevertheless, roughly speaking, and in line with fishermen’s own assessments, about one-third of the total number of fishers were ‘full-time’ fishermen during fieldwork. These were men who strongly identified as mananagat (fisherman) and highly committed to go fishing rather than do other kinds of work. As a share of the total, there were fewer ‘full-time’ fishermen in Minaba compared to in Amio and Talak.

The cost of hook-and-line fishing

The economic cost of small-scale fishing varies depending on what type of gear and boats fishermen use. Gear use changes over the season. Fulltime hook-and-line fishers with non-motorised boats will typically use from 200 to 600 pesos per month for gear and bait, depending on the techniques they use, how many fishing trips they have, how much of their own fishing gear they make themselves, how well they take care of their gear and boat, and so forth. The availability of fresh bait varies. Bait is sometimes bought in the market. Fishers use fresh mackerels, sardines, tuna, shrimps, jellyfish and other marine organisms as bait for some of their fishing practises. They also make much of their own fishing gear, such as artificial shrimps to catch squid. Much of the materials used for making fishing gear are low in cost but often time-consuming to make. I have not estimated labour cost for making and repairing fishing gear and boats. Hooks and lines are bought, and are also frequently lost, but relatively cheap. For those with a motorised boat, the gasoline expense is significant. During the period of fieldwork, a fisherman would use between 50-100 pesos per fishing trip (lasting on average 2-4 hours). If the tuna were jumping and they chased them in the strong current in the Tanon Strait, they would use much more gasoline. The annual round of Epoxy and paint amounts to about 250 pesos per boat.

Gleaning and ‘trawling’

Gleaning (manginhas) and using the push-‘trawl’ to collect milkfish (bangus) fry have some importance as a livelihood source for many. Many women and children went
gleaning around new moon and full moon, when the tides were low. More of the seashells and other marine products harvested by women and children were used for own consumption. Although a few women had specialised in gleaning and diving as a source of income, most people gleaned four or five times per month. They collected shells, clams, crabs, sea urchins and other marine products. Men also went gleaning and young single men were keen to collect kapinan (abalones) which was sold to buyers for export to Cebu City and onwards to Hong Kong (see Chapter Eight). Some men also put up bamboo structures in the shallows to collect seaweeds from time to time.

The number of bangus fry push ‘trawlers’ were high in Minaba, with 37 trawls being utilised by around one hundred collectors, men, women and children who push the v-shaped ‘trawl’ along the beach. In Talak, there were about fifteen households who owned a bangus fry push trawl. Collection of milk fish fry is a seasonal activity which brings in a bit of extra income from time to time. The season for bangus fry trawling is between March and September, with April, May and June being the best months in terms of number of collected fry and income. In May and June 2006, the income of households who used the push trawl regularly (15-18 times per month), collected, roughly speaking, between 9000 and 17000 bangus fry and earned 1800 to 3300 pesos from this activity. The income was half of this in July and even lower in August and September.

The bangus fry are sold to an external buyer who sells them onwards to fishpond operators. The arrangements which link trawlers to bangus fry stock holders and further on to buyers who sell the fry to fishpond owners goes beyond the scope of this study. The control over the price that is given to local stockholders was set without residents having much knowledge of the price-setting higher up in the hierarchy of intermediaries. High demand for bangus fry does not necessarily translate to a high price for trawlers.
### Appendix B: *Lumad* and *langyaw* household income

Table B-1: Comparison of *lumad* and *langyaw* annual household income, Amio beach, 2005/2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lumad household income</th>
<th></th>
<th>Langyaw household income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income brackets (in 1,000)</td>
<td># of household in each income bracket</td>
<td>% in each income bracket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 75</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 - 125</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.1 - 175</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 175</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: A poorer branch of a lumad family

In 2005/2006, Myrna lived on a different house lot in Amio, together with the family of her youngest daughter, Fedela. Leticia lived with the youngest son Rene and received 1000 pesos per month from Ramel who worked at his uncle’s scrap dealer business in Manila. Marwin and Mary Lyn, Rose and Ryan, and Marlon and Mary Joy all had their separate house next to Leticia’s house.

Bening settled in Manjuyod, a municipality north of Bais, Merta setted in barangay Talak (marrying a Polido), and Tikio setteld in barangay Minaba.

Figure C-1: Kinship chart of a poor lumad family
Table C-1: Monthly value of livelihood activities, poor lumad family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Rose’s income katabang and other jobs for beach house owner</th>
<th>Income other sources</th>
<th>Ronald’s share from bobo in Cangmating</th>
<th>Economic value fish consumed</th>
<th>Income fish sold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct-05</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-05</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec-05</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-06</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-06</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-06</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-06</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May-06</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-06</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul-06</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug-06</td>
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<td>Sep-06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct-06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov-06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec-06</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Rene and Leticia’s income is not included in the figures. They were dependent on the other households, having an annual income of approximately 23,000 pesos. Rose and her husband’s household had an estimated annual income of 31,000 pesos per person.
per year in 2005-2006. The estimated average income per year per member of the four households in this settler group was 13,550 pesos, or about 37 pesos per person per day. Of the sixteen members, four children were five years or younger (the stage in the household cycle affects income level). I have not included an estimate of the economic value of gleaning, the raising of a few goats and chickens, two coconut trees, firewood collected along the shoreline, and leftover food and occasional gifts from Rose's employer.
Appendix D: Foreshore lease and the new land use plan

The Foreshore Lease Application (FLA) is a tenure product for the lease of public land. It covers foreshore lands for residential, commercial, industrial or other productive purposes other than agriculture. FLAs have to be filed at the DENR-Community Environment and Natural Resources Office (DENR/CENRO).\textsuperscript{216} Several low-income coastal households in Amio filled in foreshore lease applications in the mid-1990s, but have not followed up on them. These applications have just been stored at the DENR/CENRO office in Dumaguete City and are not processed due to deficiencies.

Today, there are new rules and procedures for getting legal tenure to foreshore lands. CENRO has not contacted earlier applicants of the deficiencies and the new rules. The procedures to obtain Foreshore Lease Agreement (FLA) involves, firstly, getting the survey plan approved. Next there has to be an appraisal by DENR to determine the rental price. Thirdly, the applicant is given authority to lease. Fourthly, a notice of lease of public land has to be published in newspapers for six weeks and a notification to the littoral owner has to be given. Only if there is no objection from the littoral owner within 60 days will DENR proceed with the application. Fifthly, if the applicant wins the sealed bidding process, DENR will issue lease. It is the Regional Executive Officer at DENR who makes the final decision. This is a short-cut version of all the steps and requirements in the procedure. DENR Administrative Order 99-34, Section 13, defines thirteen steps in the process of obtaining FLA.

The estimated expenses for obtaining a lease, excluding the rental price, were in 2006, according to CENRO officials in Dumaguete, as follows: application fee of P500 for individuals and P1000 for corporations; the survey of the lot would cost between P3500 and P4000; publication costs P2700 in one newspaper and P8000 in the local one (for six weeks). The law gives those who hold title to land fronting the sea preferential treatment in obtaining the 25-year renewable lease contracts of foreshore areas from the government.

There were in March 2006 more than thirty new applications for FLA at the CENRO office for the barangay of Amio, Minaba and Talak. However, no FLA has been issued as of yet. Some applications are pending because the survey plan has not been approved. Other applications, I was told, are pending because of ongoing court cases. Another critical factor delaying the issuing of FLAs is that the Comprehensive Land Use Plan, while approved by the municipal government of Sibulan, had by June 2007 not received

\textsuperscript{216} According to DENR, qualified to apply are: “1) Any Filipino citizen of lawful age, if not of lawful age who is head of the family; 2) Corporations, associations or partnerships duly constituted under the laws of the Philippines, at least sixty per centum (60%) of whose capital is owned by Filipino citizens. Under the 1973 and 1987 Constitutions, an individual may lease not more than 500 hectares and a corporation may lease not more than 1000 hectares.” Under DENR Administrative Order (DAO) No. 34, series of 1999, “any person, corporation, association or partnership may lease not more than 144 hectares.” The term of a foreshore lease is “twenty-five years renewable for not more than 25 years.”

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final approval by the provincial government. It needs approval by the Provincial Council. If approved by the Provincial Council, the plan is sent to the Provincial Land Use Committee (part of the Provincial Planning and Development Office – PPDO) who then checks the plan. If they have no comments or further requirements, the plan goes back to the provincial council for final approval.

If the new proposed land-use plan of Sibulan obtains such final approval, the outcome of many court cases may be affected. If barangay of Amio, Minaba and Talak are reclassified as urban and the strip of land along the shore residential, the size of the Easement Zone (sometimes referred to as the Environmental Protection Zone) along the coast will be reduced from 20 to only 3 meters. For the current court cases over land, the re-classification of the foreshore and the adjacent dry land areas will work to the disadvantage of those who claim to live on ‘public land’ and base their rights to continued occupation and possession on long-term residence and tax declarations.

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Figure D-1: Classification of the coastal zone

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217 It is the Water Code that regulates land adjacent to the foreshore. The easement zone, according to the Water Code, is intended for “public use in the interest of recreation, navigation, floatage, fishing and salvage” (Batongbakal 1998).
References


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